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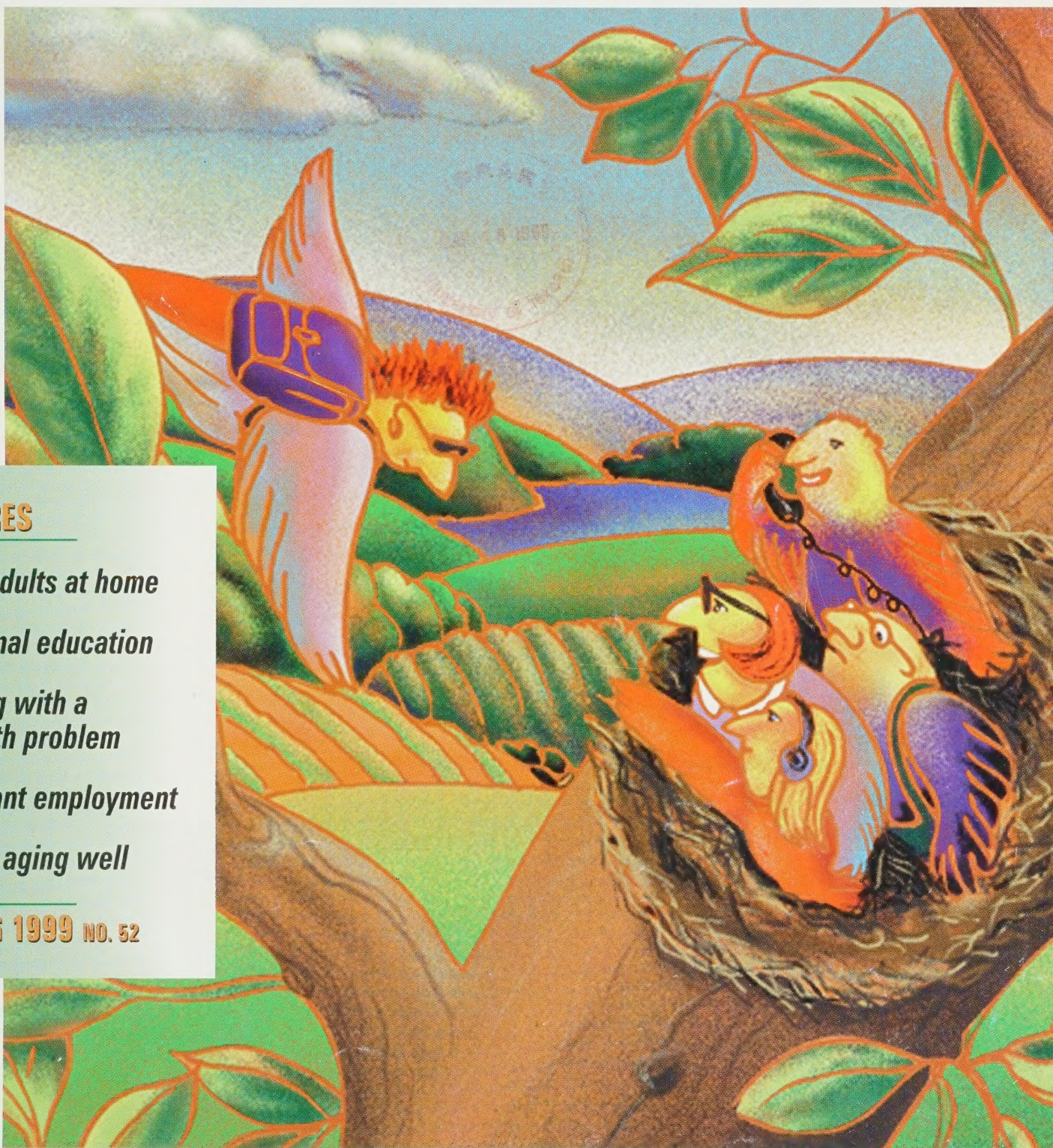
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CANADIAN

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SOCIAL TRENDS



FEATURES

Young adults at home

Original education

*Working with a
health problem*

Immigrant employment

Elderly aging well

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CANADA



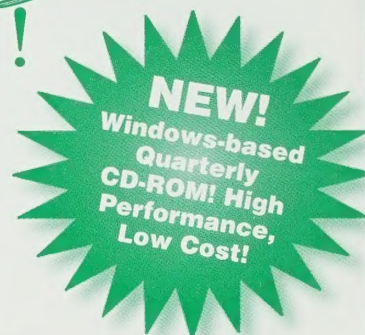
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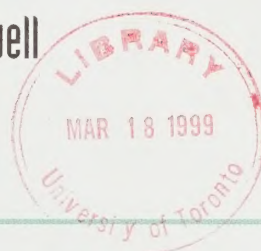
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The Crowded Nest: Young adults at home

by *Monica Boyd and Doug Norris*

Becoming an adult involves many changes in a teenager's life. Leaving high school, going to college or university, getting a full-time job, becoming economically self-sufficient, getting married — all these are commonly accepted indicators of being an adult. Since these changes often go hand in hand with leaving the parental home, many people also think of "moving out" as being part of the transition to adulthood.

Throughout most of the twentieth century, most people viewed the steps to adulthood as sequential and irreversible. Today, however, these changes are not one-time-only events that occur in sequence. Young Canadians may stay in school and live with a partner, rather than first completing school and then legally marrying. They also may find jobs and subsequently, or simultaneously, return to school. And they may continue to live with their parents, or move out and then move back in, throughout these schooling, employment and family-building years.

According to Canadian censuses, the proportions of young adults who lived with their parents fell between 1971 and 1981, following the general twentieth century trend toward non-familial living arrangements for the young and the older generations. Since then, however, the transition to adulthood has become more dynamic and young adults are now more likely to live with parents. This article uses census data from 1981 to 1996 to examine the growing phenomenon of young adults living at home.

Young adults now more likely to live with their parents
Since 1981, the percentage of young adults in their twenties and early thirties living in the parental home has been increasing. In 1996, 23% of young women aged 20 to 34 lived at home, up from 16% in 1981. Over the same period, the percentage of young men the same age residing in the parental home rose to 33% from 26%. Most of the increase



CST What you should know about this study

This article is based on the Census of Population. Young persons living with parents were identified as any woman or man aged 20 to 34 co-residing with at least one biological or adoptive parent. Those living with parents are also referred to as "living at home." Using this data source, it is not possible to identify whether these young adults have continually lived with their parents or have returned after living elsewhere for a period of time.

Unmarried: a young adult who was not married at the time of the Census, including divorced or separated, widowed as well as never-married.

Married: a young adult who was either legally married or living common-law.

took place from 1981 to 1986 and from 1991 to 1996, both periods of economic recession and slow recovery.

The growing propensity to live at home was common to both unmarried and married young adults. In 1996, nearly half (47%) of unmarried women aged 20 to 34 lived with parents, up from 44% in 1981. More than half of young unmarried men also resided in the parental home, about the same as in 1981. Despite a brief decline from 1986 to 1991, by 1996, the percentages of young unmarried adults living with their parents were the highest in 15 years.

In Canada and other industrial countries, young couples are usually expected to establish residences separate from those of their parents; as a result, not many young adults in common-law or legal marriages reside with their parents. Nevertheless, in 1996 a higher percentage of young married adults (including common-law) were living in the parental home than in 1981. Unlike their unmarried counterparts, the proportion of married young adults living with their parents has risen steadily over the past 15 years.

Young adults living at home are older and the majority are men

One of the most notable shifts in the characteristics of young adults living at home is that they are older. In 1981, only about one-quarter of unmarried women and men living with their parents were aged 25 or over; by 1996, the percentages had risen to 33% and 40%, respectively.

Changes were even more pronounced for young adults who were married, jumping from 52% of women and 64% of men in 1981, to 69% and 78% in 1996.

Many other studies in Canada and the United States have found that the living arrangements of young adults differ considerably by gender. Smaller percentages of young women live at home, which researchers speculate may be partly explained by gender roles. Parents may more closely supervise the social lives of their daughters than their sons, so that women may feel they have more independence living elsewhere. Researchers also suggest that, because they are more involved in household tasks as teenagers, young women may be better able to take care of themselves in terms of cooking, cleaning and laundry skills.¹

Differences in the way families assign chores to men and women may also deter young women from living with their parents. When at home, young women report spending more hours doing housework than young men, whereas

1. Boyd, Monica and Edward T. Pryor. 1989. "The Cluttered Nest: The Living Arrangements of Young Canadian Adults," *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 15: 462-479. DaVanzo, Julie and Francis Kobrin Goldscheider. 1990. "Coming Home Again: Returns to the Parental Home of Young Adults," *Population Studies*, 44 : 241-255. Ward, Russell A. and Glenna Spitze. 1992. "Consequence of Parent-Adult Child Co-residence: A Review and Research Agenda," *Journal of Family Issues*, 13: 553-572.

CST The proportion of young adults living at home has been rising over the past 15 years								
Percent living with parents								
	Unmarried				Married*			
	Total	20-24	25-29	30-34	Total	20-24	25-29	30-34
Women								
1981	44	60	27	18	1	3	1	1
1986	46	64	32	18	2	3	2	1
1991	44	63	33	19	2	5	2	1
1996	47	67	36	19	3	7	4	2
Men								
1981	55	69	40	28	2	3	2	1
1986	57	72	45	30	2	4	2	1
1991	53	71	44	29	3	6	3	1
1996	56	74	48	32	4	9	5	3
* Married includes legal marriages and common-law relationships. Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.								

young men are more likely to pay room and board.² Another explanation could be that women outnumber men as lone parents, since the presence of children dampens the likelihood of young women living with parents.

Education, labour markets and marriage are factors at work

The growing tendency of young adults aged 25 and over to co-reside with their parents suggests that fundamental changes are occurring in the living arrangements of young Canadians. And indeed, this increase has coincided with significant social and economic changes. Starting in the 1960s, the expansion of colleges and universities has led to higher rates of enrollment, extending young people's adolescence and their dependence on their parents. The economy likewise has gone through several business cycles, recording prolonged boom times but also periods of severe

recession, when young people generally experience higher rates of unemployment than older adults.

Fluctuations in living arrangements and in school enrollments of young adults are sensitive to labour market conditions.³ The upswing in young unmarried adults living at home between 1981 and 1986 coincided with a severe recession in the early 1980s. A more prolonged recession occurred in the early 1990s, and was followed by increased percentages of young adults at home in 1996. Economic downturns do not mean that young adults automatically either stay in the parental home or move back in. But living with parents can be one of the ways in which young adults respond to unemployment, relatively low wages or low incomes while attending school.

In 1996, for example, 71% of unmarried women aged 20 to 29 who were full-time students lived at home, as did 66% of unmarried men with incomes of only \$10,000 to \$14,999 a year. These patterns are consistent with other studies which suggest that co-residency is a strategy for minimizing the household expenditures of young adults. But it also may represent an economic strategy for the family. When living together, parents and children can share

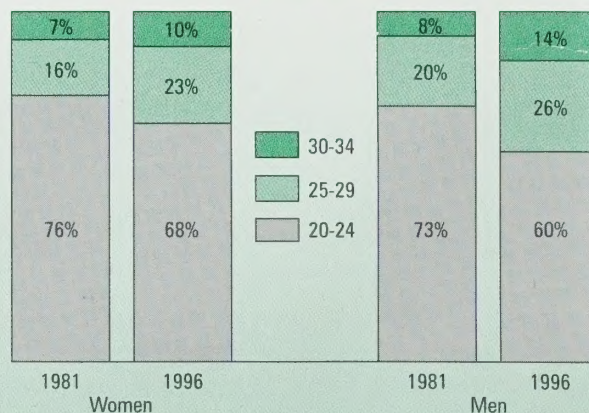
CST Full-time students were most likely to live at home				
Percent of young adults aged 20-29 living at home				
	Unmarried		Married	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
All	55	63	5	6
School attendance				
Full-time	71	76	6	7
Part-time	52	64	5	6
Not attending	45	56	5	6
Labour force status				
Not in labour force	52	69	6	9
In labour force	56	62	5	6
Employed	56	61	4	5
Unemployed	58	68	7	8
Income				
Less than \$5,000	69	75	6	10
\$5,000-9,999	65	70	6	9
\$10,000-14,999	47	66	5	8
\$15,000-19,999	43	61	4	7
\$20,000-29,999	42	54	4	6
\$30,000-39,999	34	43	3	4
\$40,000 or more	27	33	2	3

Note: Because the proportion of 30- to 34-year-olds living with parents is quite small, data are presented for the population aged 20 to 29 only.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

- Ward, Russell A. and Glenna Spitze. 1996. "Gender Differences in Parent-Child Coresidence Experiences," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 58: 718-725.
- Boyd, Monica and Doug Norris. 1995. *The Cluttered Nest Revisited: Young Adults at Home*. Working Paper Series 94-127, Center for the Study of Population and Demography, Florida State University. Card, David and Thomas Lemieux. Forthcoming. "Adapting to Circumstances: The Evolution of Work, School and Living Arrangements Among North American Youth," in *Youth Unemployment and Employment in Advanced Countries*, David Blanchflower and Richard Freeman (eds.). University of Chicago Press for the National Bureau of Economic Research.

CST At least one-third of young unmarried adults living at home are now aged 25 and over



Note: Data may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 and 1996 Censuses of Population.

resources and adopt economies of scale with respect to food and shelter costs.⁴ It should also be noted that there can be a cultural component to such living arrangements, since rates of co-residence with parents are greater for some ethnic and immigrant groups than for others.⁵

CST What might have been

Noteworthy as they are, the increases in the percentages of young adults living at home would be even greater if the age structure of this population had not changed over the period. Between 1981 and 1996, the age profile of the population aged 20 to 34 became older, resulting in proportionately fewer young adults in their early twenties and proportionately more in their late twenties and early thirties. Since children tend to move away from home as they get older, the aging of the young adult population has artificially reduced the overall percentage of 20- to 34-year-olds living at home. If the age profile had been the same in 1996 as in 1981, young adults would be even more likely to be living at home with their parents — 26% of all young women and 36% of all young men.

Percent of young adults aged 20 to 34 living with parents (age standardized)*

	Unmarried	Married
Women		
1981	44	1
1986	47	2
1991	47	3
1996	50	4
Men		
1981	55	2
1986	59	2
1991	57	3
1996	60	5

* Age standardization is a technique adopted when the age profile of a population (in this case, those aged 20 to 34) has changed significantly and might affect the results of comparisons over time. The population in this study has been standardized to the 1981 age distribution, using sex specific age distributions for unmarried women and men.

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

A final factor underlying the increasing percentage of young adults co-residing with parents is that they are remaining unmarried longer. Since the mid-1970s, the rate of first (legal) marriage has declined and the average age at marriage has increased. Women marrying for the first time were on average about three years older in 1996 than in 1981 — 27 versus 24 years. Similarly, men married at the more mature age of 29, compared with 26. And although the drop in legal marriage has been somewhat offset by an increase in common-law marriages, the percentage of young adults who are unmarried rose substantially between 1981 and 1996: from 35% to 45% for women, and from 45% to 56% for men.

Summary

Many young Canadian adults live with parents not just in their late teenage years but also throughout their twenties and early thirties. Interpretations of this phenomenon vary. One view assumes that living apart from the family of origin signals the successful transition to adulthood, alongside other indicators such as completion of education, employment, marriage and childbearing. From this perspective, the continued presence of adult children in the parental home is unusual.

Yet a more general lesson from the 1980s and 1990s emphasizes the fallacy of holding a narrow image of family life. The forms of Canadian families are diverse and constantly changing over the life cycle of their individual members. From this perspective, young adults live at home because this arrangement ultimately benefits them in making other types of transitions from adolescence to adulthood.

4. Grisgby, Jill S. 1989. "Adult Children in the Parental Household: Who Benefits?" *Population Studies*, 44: 241-255.

5. Boyd, Monica. 1998. *Birds of a Feather: Ethnic Variations in Young Adults Living at Home*. Working Paper Series 98-140. Center for the Study of Population and Demography, Florida State University.



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Doug Norris is Director, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

Educational achievement of young Aboriginal adults

by Heather Tait

The Aboriginal population in Canada is young and growing quickly, and over the next few decades, a large number of young adults will be making the transition from school to work. Given that the labour market demands higher levels of schooling than ever before, obtaining a solid education is becoming increasingly important. A well-educated Aboriginal workforce is essential to meet the requirements of the labour market, and hence reduce high levels of youth unemployment and dependence on social assistance.

In general, the relationship between education and employment is clear: the unemployment rate for young Aboriginal adults without high school was 40% in 1996, compared to 9% for those with a university degree. Over the past decade, Aboriginal people in Canada have made some notable educational gains at both the secondary and postsecondary levels. Further improvements in young Aboriginal peoples' academic qualifications would continue to narrow this differential and so reduce the employment disadvantage faced by groups with lower educational levels. This article explores the educational attainment of young Aboriginal adults aged 20 to 29 in the

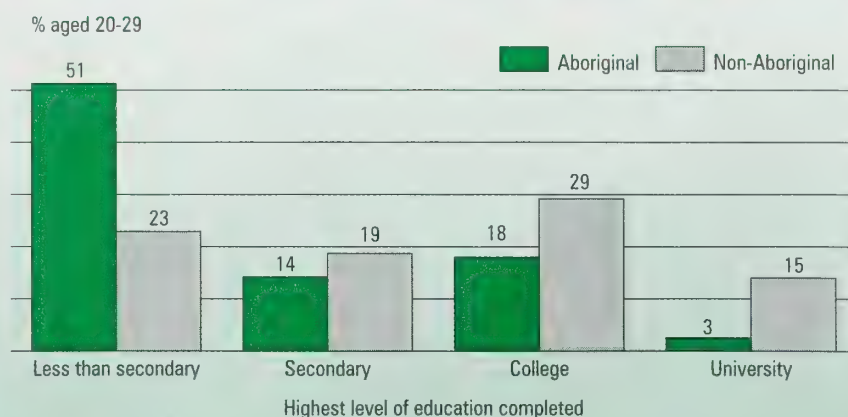
1980s and the 1990s, and compares their levels of schooling with those of other young Canadians.

Proportion of college and university grads doubles over past decade
Between 1986 and 1996, young Aboriginal adults improved their qualifications at every level of education. At one end, the proportion of young Aboriginal people (including current students) with less than a high school diploma fell from 60% in 1986 to 45%

in 1996; at the other end, the share of those who completed their college education (refers to all postsecondary, non-university diplomas or certificates) increased from 15% to 20% during the same period. Progress was also evident at the university level: the percentage of those with a degree doubled, from 2% to 4%.

Despite these educational gains, in 1996 there were still large gaps in relative attainment between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people aged 20 to

CST Nearly one in five young Aboriginal adults no longer attending school had completed college in 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

29. In fact, the gap widened during the decade for those with less than high school completion. While in 1986, Aboriginal people were 2.2 times more likely than their non-Aboriginal counterparts to have less than high school, by 1996 they were 2.6 times more likely to be without high school completion.

However, the opposite was true at the postsecondary level (including college, university and other post-secondary institutions), where the gap narrowed modestly, indicating a slight improvement in the relative position of Aboriginal people. For example, in 1986, Aboriginal people aged 20 to 29 were 60% less likely than non-Aboriginal people in this age group to have completed their postsecondary studies. By 1996, they were 50% less likely to do so.

The past decade's upward trend in Aboriginal education, however, may not be as significant as the figures suggest. During the 1986 to 1996 period, an increasing number of people, mostly those with North American Indian and Métis background, began to identify with an Aboriginal group, thus raising the total number of people who reported an Aboriginal identity on the Census. Many of these people were relatively well-educated and, as a result, may have helped push upward the average educational attainment of all young Aboriginal adults over the decade.¹

Educational levels rise for both men and women

Although the educational attainment of both young Aboriginal men and women improved between 1986 and 1996, women had a somewhat higher

Data in this article come from the 1986 and 1996 Censuses of Population and the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey. In the 1986 and 1996 Censuses, two questions may be used to determine the size of the Aboriginal population: one on Aboriginal ethnic origin/ancestry and the other on Aboriginal identity. The 1996 total Aboriginal population estimate (799,010) used in this article is based on the identity question, which asked: "Is this person an Aboriginal person, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit (Eskimo)?" The 1986 total Aboriginal population counts (455,130) were calculated by cross-tabulating data from both the ethnic origin and identity questions included in the questionnaire that year.

The large increase in the Aboriginal population between 1986 and 1996 cannot be completely explained by demographic factors, such as fertility and mortality. One must also consider that a significant number of people who did not report an Aboriginal identity in 1986 did so in 1996, most likely due to heightened awareness of Aboriginal issues. For the most part, the socio-economic characteristics of this new group were generally better than the characteristics of those who had previously identified. This contributed to some of the improvement observed in the socio-economic profile of the Aboriginal population as a whole during this period.

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) was a large-scale survey conducted as a follow-up to the 1991 Census. Persons who reported Aboriginal ancestry on the census questionnaires were asked in the APS about their identity. Slightly more than one million persons reported at least some Aboriginal ancestry, and just under two-thirds (625,710) self-identified as an Aboriginal person and/or a Registered Indian.

Incompletely enumerated reserves: In both 1986 and 1996, some Indian reserves and settlements were incompletely enumerated. In 1986, 136 reserves and settlements with an estimated population of 44,700 did not take part in the census. In 1996, 77 reserves, with an estimated population of 44,000, did not participate. These people are not included in this article.

School attendance: Because the 1986 Census did not ask about school attendance, 1986 and 1996 data compare highest-level-of-schooling figures for everyone (including students) in the specific age group. When only 1996 data are presented, figures cover only those who were not attending school at the time.

1. See also Guimond, E., A. Siggner, N. Robitaille and G. Goldmann. "Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: A Demographic Perspective." *Census Monograph Series*. Forthcoming.

rate of success at most levels. For example, in 1996, the proportion of women, who had completed college was 21% compared with 19% of men. Similarly, a slightly higher share of women had completed their education at the university level.

Lone mothers, in particular, attended school more frequently than one would expect based on their often difficult circumstances. It is often stated

that the responsibility of caring for children may make it more difficult for women to continue their studies, especially in lone-parent families where there is no spouse to help with childcare. However, according to the 1996 Census, Aboriginal lone mothers were more likely than mothers in two-parent families to be attending school. Indeed, some 30% of Aboriginal lone mothers were attending school, most

on a full-time basis. This compared with 20% of Aboriginal women with children in two-parent families. Young Aboriginal mothers in both lone-parent and two-parent families most likely to be attending school had an incomplete postsecondary education.

Education cuts unemployment substantially

Without question, the higher the level of education, the lower the rate of unemployment for young adults who are no longer attending school. In 1996, young Aboriginal adults without a high school diploma reported an unemployment rate of 40%. In contrast, unemployment rates were only half as high for those with secondary (23%) or college (20%) completion. Young Aboriginal people with a university degree recorded the lowest rate, at 9%. The corresponding figures for the non-Aboriginal population aged 20 to 29 showed the same disparities between educational attainment and unemployment, although at considerably lower rates — 20%, 13%, 9% and 5%, respectively.

Métis lead the way in educational achievement

Canada's three broad Aboriginal groups — North American Indians (comprising Registered Indians and non-status Indians), Métis and the Inuit — have notably different levels of schooling, due mostly to their varying historical, economic, social and geographic circumstances. The opportunities available to them in the form of financial help also vary. For instance, Registered Indian and Inuit students are eligible to receive grants from the Postsecondary Student Support Program, which is funded through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. For the year 1997/98, a budget of \$276 million assisted these students.²

Although most Métis people are not eligible for these grants, young

CST

Between 1986 and 1996, both Aboriginal men and women aged 20 to 29 increased their educational attainment

Highest level of schooling completed	Men		Women	
	1986	1996	1986	1996
Less than secondary school	62%	48%	59%	42%
Secondary school	8%	13%	9%	11%
College	14%	19%	15%	21%
University	1%	3%	2%	5%
Incomplete postsecondary	14%	18%	16%	21%
Total number of people	42,110	65,385	46,800	71,595

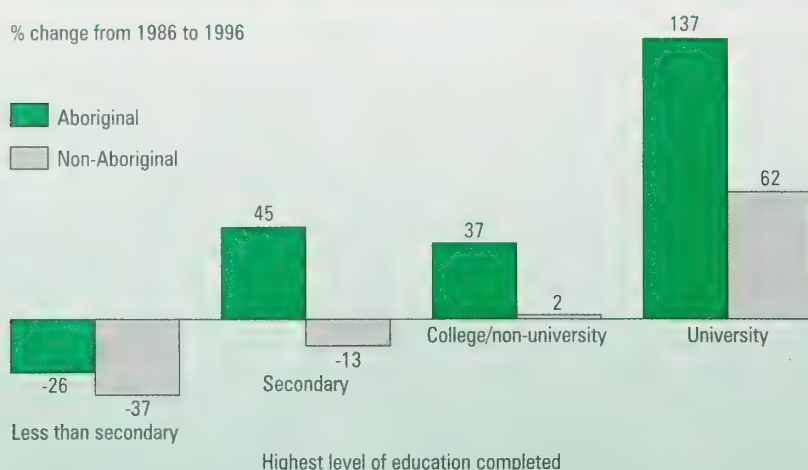
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

CST

Between 1986 and 1996, the proportion of young Aboriginal adults with a university degree more than doubled

% change from 1986 to 1996

Aboriginal
Non-Aboriginal



Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

Métis adults had the highest level of education in 1996. Several factors may have contributed to this. First, the Métis are less likely to live in remote communities or the far North than the other two groups, and thus have better access to postsecondary institutions. And second, the Métis have a longer history of formal education and a greater familiarity with other mainstream institutions than other Aboriginal people growing up in remote communities. Indeed, in 1996, some 21% of Métis aged 20 to 29 completed their college education compared with 17% of both North American Indian and Inuit people. Underscoring the same trend, 4% of Métis had university degrees compared with 2% of North American Indians and just under 2% of Inuit in their twenties.

In all three Aboriginal groups, however, those who did complete their postsecondary education tended to choose similar fields of study. The most popular field for all three was engineering and applied science technology, with 39% of Inuit and 27% of both North American Indians and Métis specializing in it. Within this field, the majority of people enrolled in the building technology trades (comprising construction, plumbing, welding and other similar trades). The next most common area of study was commerce, management and business administration, with nearly equal concentrations of North American Indians and Métis (22% and 24%, respectively) and a somewhat lower share of Inuit people (18%).

CST

Family and money issues mostly responsible for young people not completing studies

In 1991, the Aboriginal Peoples Survey asked young adults who did not complete their postsecondary studies why they had decided not to continue. The reasons cited most frequently were family related and money issues, followed by a lack of interest or a dislike of school. Interestingly, women and men voiced different concerns. While the top reasons among women were family responsibilities (25%), the most important reasons among men related to money (18%).

However, it appears that with time some Aboriginal people may overcome these barriers. In general, Aboriginal people are more likely than other Canadians to return to school at older ages. The educational level of young Aboriginal adults may therefore improve as they get older.

Those in large cities most likely to hold degrees

Young Aboriginal people living in Canada's largest cities were the most likely to have completed a university degree, while those in rural First Nations communities (commonly referred to as reserves) were the least likely to have done so. And the differences were quite pronounced. For example, in cities with populations over 100,000, approximately 4% of Aboriginal youths had a university degree. This compared with just over 1% of those who lived on rural reserves.

Although pronounced, these disparities are not surprising because opportunities to pursue higher education and find employment tend to be limited in most rural reserves. While some isolated communities have access to satellite campuses, many people are still faced with the prospect of leaving their family, friends, community and way of life and traveling great distances to attend postsecondary institutions. Once enrolled, they are often confronted with unfamiliar surroundings and customs, resulting in feelings of isolation. Others are faced with "thought processes and ways of

knowing and learning that are a lot different than their own traditional ways."³ Students may be discouraged when they find few or, in some cases, no other Aboriginal students and faculty on campus.⁴

Adding to these difficulties is the fact that many reserves are found in remote regions, where jobs are scarce and the land base inadequate. In these situations, people with high levels of formal education may feel obliged to leave their community in order to find employment.

Summary

From 1986 to 1996, there was much improvement in the educational achievement of Aboriginal people aged 20 to 29. While still falling below the levels of other Canadians, at the

2. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. 1998. Post-secondary Student Program Database. Inuit students account for roughly 1% (or 280) of the total number of students in this program.

3. Wilson, Darryl. 1998. "You Must Learn to Use Words Like Bullets." *Winds of Change*. Winter Issue. Boulder, Colorado, 24-30.

4. The Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. 1994. *Aboriginal Post-secondary Education: Indigenous Student Perceptions*. Report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa.

On April 1, 1999 Nunavut, Canada's third and newest territory, will become a legal and political reality. The existing Northwest Territories will be split, with Nunavut making up the eastern two-thirds of the area. The creation of the territory will result in various public-sector job opportunities for the Inuit people. One long-term goal is to create roughly 600 new jobs and to have a territorial government that is 85% Inuit (to match the proportion of Inuit persons who comprise the population of Nunavut). As a start, it is hoped that in 1999 the Inuit people will hold about 50% of all government jobs.¹

These new positions require a well-educated workforce, but meeting the labour market demands of Nunavut will be challenging. Not only is there a small population base (24,665 people), but the educational attainment of Inuit in this territory is below that of other Aboriginal people. Nearly half (46%) of the Inuit population 15 years and over had less than grade nine education in 1996 and just over 1% had completed university.

Nunavut's younger adults appear similarly disadvantaged as their educational attainment fell substantially below that of other young Aboriginal people. Some 34% of young Inuit adults aged 20 to 29 had less than grade nine education compared with roughly 12% of other young Aboriginal adults.

At the other end of the scale, slightly more than 1% of Inuit youths had completed university compared with nearly 3% of all young Aboriginal people.

The new administrative structure will require a host of qualified individuals including those with training in human resources, senior government management, land and resource planning and computer technology. To meet the demand for a well-educated workforce, job-training, along with efforts to encourage Inuit children and young adults to stay in school, have become top priorities in recent years.² In 1996, the most common postsecondary qualification held by young Inuit people residing in Nunavut was engineering and applied science technology (32%), with the majority concentrated in fields such as welding, plumbing and construction. Commerce, management and business administration was the second most popular choice (19%), followed by education, recreation, and counseling (14%). In addition, 9% enrolled in science and technology, a field where, because of rapidly changing technology, experienced people are in great demand.

1. Laghi, Brian. July 4, 1998. "Inuit find no magic solution on the way." *Globe and Mail*. p. A6.

2. Ibid.

postsecondary level the educational gap between the two groups has narrowed somewhat over the past decade.

Higher education is one factor which may help Aboriginal people compete in a rapidly changing labour market. More advanced levels of schooling and a narrowing of the education gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people may improve young peoples' chances of finding suitable employment. As well, younger generations of Aboriginal

children may also benefit, by having role models to follow.⁵ These events, in turn, may reduce some of the socioeconomic disparity that continues to exist between Aboriginal people and other Canadians. In addition, a well-educated group of young adults will be better able to contribute to the development of new government

structures and institutions among all Aboriginal people.



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5. See Ponting, J. Rick, and Cora Voyageur. 1998. *An Hundred Points of Light: Grounds for Optimism in the Situation of First Nations in Canada*. Forthcoming.

At work despite a chronic health problem

by Kelly Cranswick

Being employed is one of the central aspects of a person's life. It offers a sense of identity and purpose, and provides the means by which people can support themselves and their families. However, for Canadians with a chronic health problem, performing the daily activities required at work may be difficult. The 1996 General Social Survey (GSS) found, in that year, over 3% of working-age Canadians had a long-term health problem sufficiently severe to warrant receiving some assistance with their day-to-day activities.

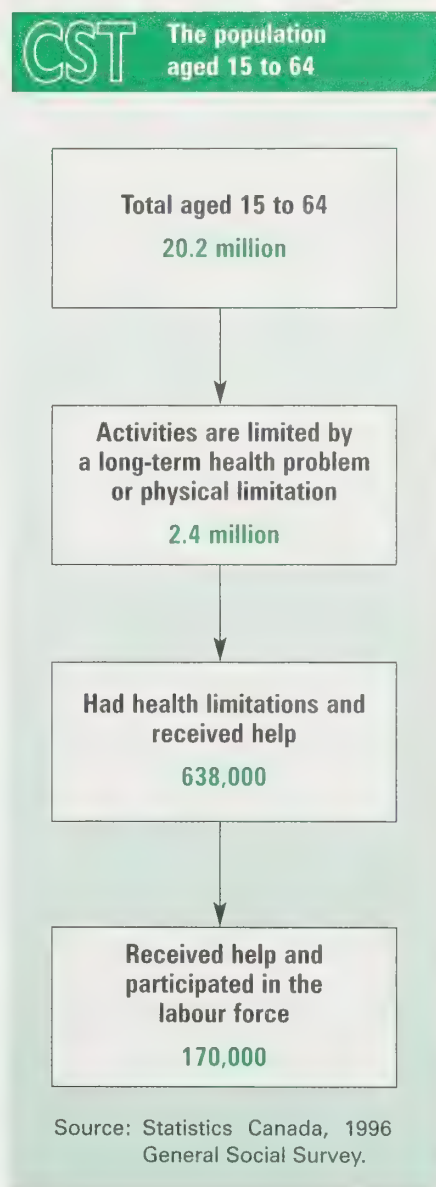
To date, most research about the labour force participation of people with long-term health problems has focused on employed individuals and the barriers they face in the workplace. However, only one in four working-age care-receivers getting help at home actually entered the workforce. An important question, then, is whether substantive barriers to employment must be overcome before a person with a long-term health problem even reaches the workplace. This article uses the 1996 GSS to identify some of the characteristics that determine whether or not a working-age Canadian receiving care for a long-term health problem would participate in the labour force.

Who were the working-age Canadians receiving assistance?

Almost 638,000 Canadians aged 15 to 64 — about 338,000 women and 300,000 men — received assistance for a long-term health problem or condition in 1996. The majority were between 45 and 64 years old (60%); the remainder were evenly split between younger adults aged 15 to 34 and those aged 35 to 44.

When asked to describe their main activity in the 12 months preceding the GSS, the largest proportion of working-age care-receivers (40%) reported they were not in the labour force because of their long-term illness or condition; another one-third said they had not been in the labour force because they were retired,¹ keeping house and/or caring for their children, attending school, or were engaged in other activities. Only about one-quarter (27%) said they had been active in the labour force, that is, either working, looking for work or on maternity/paternity leave.

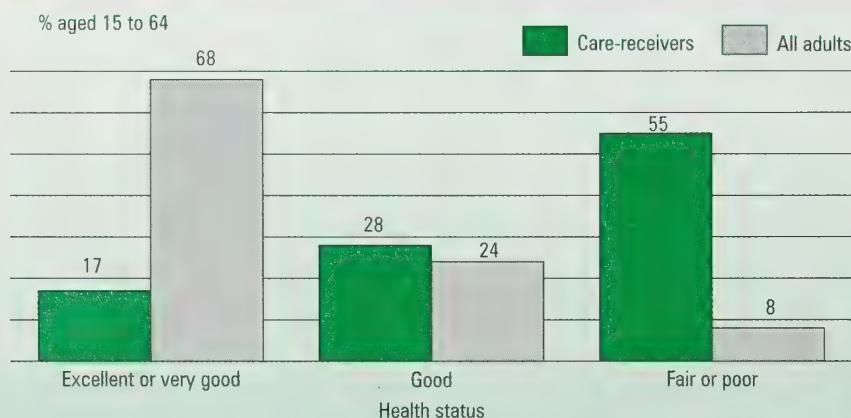
1. It is difficult to untangle what "retired" actually means, since some care-receivers would have retired because of their health while others may have developed the problem after retiring.



Given that they were experiencing a long-term health problem, it is unexpected that almost one in six

care-receivers (17%) felt that, compared to other people their age, their health was very good or excellent.

CST The majority of care-receivers felt their health was only fair or poor



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 General Social Survey.

Over one-quarter assessed their relative health as good. But more than half rated their own health as only fair or poor compared to other Canadians. Not surprisingly, it was younger adults under 45 who tended to describe their health in more positive terms.

The greatest number of working-age care-receivers (75%) were getting help with tasks around the house. More than one-half (54%) had help running errands, and over one-quarter (28%) received assistance with their personal care, such as bathing and dressing.

Looking at the relationship between the type of care provided and employment status of care-receivers begins to illuminate the factors that influence labour force participation. For example, most care-receivers — 70% of those

CST What you should know about this study

This study is based on data from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS) on social and community support. The GSS interviewed almost 13,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private dwellings in the ten provinces. Data were collected on help received in the previous 12 months due to a long-term health problem or physical limitation or due to a temporarily difficult time. Help could have been provided informally by family and friends or formally by paid employees, government and non-government organizations.

The article also draws on the 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey (HALS), which was conducted in order to develop a national database on disability. HALS interviewed over 91,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private dwellings in the ten provinces, and 26,000 respondents were identified as having disabilities. Included in the interview were questions on the barriers to employment faced by persons with disabilities. While it would have been helpful to have more up-to-date information than that collected in 1991, more recent data are not available.

Care-receiver: A person who received help with day-to-day tasks from another person or organization because of a long-term health problem or physical limitation lasting (or expected to last) more than six months. Care is divided into four basic sets of tasks: personal care, including bathing, dressing and toileting; household tasks, including meal preparation and clean-up, house cleaning, laundry and sewing, and house maintenance and outside work; running errands, including shopping for groceries or other necessities, providing transportation, and banking and bill paying; and childcare.

Labour force participant: A person whose main activity in the 12 months preceding the GSS had been working at a job or business, looking for work or being on maternity/paternity leave.

Health status: The respondent's perception that, compared with other Canadians the same age, his or her health is excellent or very good, good, or fair or poor.

who were in the labour force and 79% of those who were not — were getting help with tasks around the house. However, those not in the labour force needed considerably more help with daily tasks that are more demanding. Two-thirds (66%) of these care-receivers had help running their errands, compared with just over one-quarter (28%) of labour force participants. And the overwhelming majority of people receiving help with personal care were not in the labour force.

What factors influence the ability to work with a long-term health problem?

What was the likelihood that someone receiving assistance for a long-term health problem would be a member of the labour force? After controlling for other factors,² care-receivers under 35 were four times as likely to be labour force participants as those aged 45 to 64. Higher education also increased the likelihood of participation; compared with people with high school or less, people with at least some postsecondary education were more than twice as likely to be in the labour force.

But among working-age Canadians receiving help at home because of a long-term health problem, the strongest predictor of labour force participation was how healthy they perceived themselves to be. Compared with care-receivers who considered their health to be poor or fair, those in good health were more than two-and-one-half times as likely to be working or looking for work. And care-receivers who described their health as very good or excellent were 31 times as likely as those with poor or fair health to be in the labour

force, after controlling for other factors.

Research suggests that having a spouse who is employed may reduce the pressure to find a job. However,

Among working-age Canadians receiving help at home, the strongest predictor of labour force participation was health

this did not hold true for working-age care-receivers. They were two-and-one-half times as likely to be in the labour force if they had a working spouse than if they did not.

Some characteristics that are often associated with labour force participation did not significantly influence care-receivers. For example, in the general population, men record higher labour force participation rates than women; however, among people receiving assistance for a long-term health problem, men were no more likely to be participants. Also, when other factors were controlled for, care-receivers without children were no more likely to be in the labour force than care-receivers with children.

Labour force participation is often lower in rural areas where job

CST The most important determinant of labour force participation for working-age care-receivers was their health status		
	Odds ratio of being in the labour force	
Perceived health	Fair or poor	1.0
	Good	2.6
	Excellent or very good	30.8
Age	45-64	1.0
	35-44	2.5*
	15-34	3.7
Education	High school or less	1.0
	Some postsecondary or more	2.4
Working spouse	No	1.0
	Yes	2.6
Gender	Male	1.0
	Female	0.9*
Presence of children	Yes	1.0
	No	2.1*
Place of residence	Urban	1.0
	Rural	0.5*
Note: An odds ratio close to 1.0 means there is little or no difference between the groups, but a ratio of more than 1.0 means the odds of participation are higher for the comparison group (e.g., those in good health) than for the reference group (e.g., those in poor health). A ratio of less than 1.0 means the odds are lower for the comparison group. Reference group is shown in bold.		
* Not statistically significant.		
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 General Social Survey.		

2. The factors examined in this study are perceived health status, age, education, gender, working spouse, presence of children and place of residence (urban or rural).

opportunities are not as abundant. One might assume that this would be especially true for people with long-term health problems, but this was not the case. Care-receivers in urban areas were no more likely to be in the labour force than those in the country.

Where are workers with health problems employed?

In 1996, over one-quarter — 27% or 170,000 — of working-age care-receivers with long-term health problems were in the labour force. It might be assumed that their ill-health would limit their employment opportunities, or the extent of their time on the job, but in fact it does not. Care-receivers put in a full workweek, averaging 38 hours per week on the job, while the overall workforce averaged 42 hours. Nor was there any

substantive difference in average personal income: workers with long-term health problems estimated their personal income to be almost \$37,000, mostly from employment or self-employment, while the overall working population reported just under \$36,000.

The most notable difference between workers receiving care for their chronic health problem and the general workforce was in the types of jobs they held. In 1996, the majority of working care-receivers (64%) were employed in white-collar occupations, working, for example, as architects, teachers and managers. This was almost twice as high as the percentage of the general workforce employed in white-collar occupations (35%). Most other care-receivers worked in clerical, sales and service jobs, but virtually

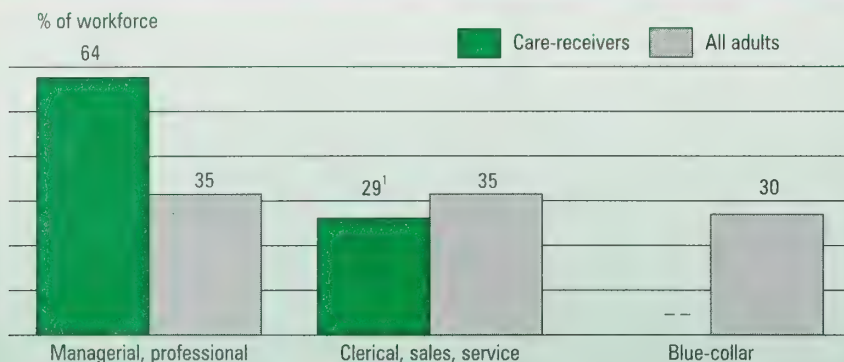
none were employed in blue-collar jobs (compared with 30% of the overall workforce).

The occupational profile of care-receivers may be explained by the basic demands of each type of job. Clerical, sales and service occupations may require extensive travel or long hours on one's feet; blue-collar occupations can also be physically demanding. These requirements could be strenuous for a person with a long-term health problem, who may choose to avoid such jobs. On the other hand, professional and managerial occupations offer working conditions that are more manageable for someone with a chronic health problem. Since these occupations also tend to require higher levels of education, the occupational profile of care-receivers suggests that education may improve the employment effects of poor health.

CST Who helps care-receivers with daily tasks?

Working-age Canadians receiving help for a long-term health problem in 1996 most often turned to family members for assistance. Spouses (27%), children or children-in-law (24%), parents and siblings (16%) and other family members, friends and "others" (15%) provided help. A substantial amount of care (18%) was also provided by formal sources, such as paid employees and organizations.

CST Most care-receivers worked in white-collar jobs



-- Amount too small to be expressed.

1. High sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 General Social Survey.

Did employees with disabilities get what they needed?

Once someone with a long-term health problem has found a job, special arrangements may be required in the workplace to enable them to work. While the GSS did not collect data about the workplace, the 1991 Health and Activity Limitation Survey (HALS) did ask employed people with disabilities if they required assistance in order to work.

In 1991, almost 100,000 Canadian workers wanted to have their job redesigned or to be given different duties because they had a health condition or disability. Almost as many (90,000) wanted modified days or reduced work hours, while 30,000 needed accessible transportation to get to the workplace. And between 20,000 and 24,000 employed Canadians with disabilities wanted human support, such as a reader, an oral or sign language interpreter, or a job coach; appropriate parking; or accessible elevators and washrooms.³



Source: Statistics Canada, Health and Activity Limitation Survey, 1991.

Because requiring some type of workplace adaptation is not the same as receiving it, HALS respondents were also asked whether their employer had accommodated their needs. Nearly three-quarters of the people requiring them got accessible washrooms; about two-thirds were provided with parking, elevators, redesigned jobs and modified hours. However, access to human support and transportation was less common, being offered to only about one-half of the workers who required such assistance.

Summary

In 1996, about 638,000 working-age Canadians received assistance for a long-term health problem. Only about one-quarter were members of the labour force; they tended to be younger and better educated than care-receivers outside the labour force, but most importantly, they were healthier. Even after other key factors

are controlled for, the data show that a person's perceived health is the most important predictor of labour force participation among care-receivers aged 15 to 64. While there are definitely workplace barriers to the employment of people with long-term health problems, there are also barriers for which workplace adaptations cannot compensate. Analysis of the 1996 General Social Survey suggests that, in many cases, people with long-term health problems are simply too ill to work.



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- It is likely that there is overlapping among these categories; for example, someone requiring reduced work hours might also want transportation to work.

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Recent immigrants in the workforce

by Jane Badets and Linda Howatson-Leo

During the first part of this decade, some 1.4 million people immigrated to Canada, contributing to one of the highest immigration flows since the 1940s. Nearly half of these new arrivals — 46% — were in the prime working ages of 25 to 44 years. As a result, recent immigrants have come to account for a growing proportion of new entrants to the labour force.

The ease with which these newcomers integrate into Canadian society depends, to a large extent, on their ability to find jobs. How have these recent immigrants fared in terms of employment (or unemployment) and the types of jobs they have found? And has their experience differed from that of others, including earlier groups of immigrants and people born in Canada? Using data from the Censuses of Population, this article explores the labour market experiences of recent immigrants in the 25 to 44 year age group from 1986 to 1996.¹

Most recent immigrants speak English or French and are highly educated

Knowing the language of one's new country helps to understand that country's culture and allows one to take part in day-to-day life. Becoming part of the workforce also tends to

CST What you should know about this study

Recent immigrants: People who immigrated to Canada 5 years or less prior to the date of the Census. For example, in the case of the 1996 Census, recent immigrants refer to those who immigrated between 1991 and the first four months of 1996.

Canadian youth: People aged 15 to 24 who were not students (non-students) at the time of the Census, unless otherwise indicated.

Employment rate: The percentage of employed persons in the week prior to Census day in a particular population group (for example, women, immigrants, population aged 25 to 44). Also known as the employment-population ratio.

Unemployment rate: The percentage of unemployed people in the total labour force (which consists of the employed and the unemployed). The unemployed are those who, during the week prior to Census day, were without paid work but were available for work; they either had actively looked for work in the past four weeks or were on temporary lay-off or had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less.

Full-time or part-time employment: The total number of hours per week a person reported working in the Census reference year (the year preceding the Census). Full-time employment is considered to be 30 hours or more per week; part-time is less than 30 hours.

Full-year, full-time workers: Persons who said they worked 49 to 52 weeks in the Census reference year (1995), mostly full-time.

Part-year or part-time workers: Persons who said they worked less than 49 weeks in the Census reference year (1995), or who worked mostly part-time.

Occupation: The kind of work a person was doing during the week prior to the Census. If someone was not employed in the week prior to Census day, the information relates to the job of longest duration since January 1 of the previous year. The 1996 Census classified occupation information according to the 1991 Standard Occupational Classification (SOC).

1. All populations discussed in this article refer to those aged 25 to 44 years, unless otherwise indicated.

be easier if one speaks and understands the language, particularly in professional occupations where communication is an essential part of the job. Among immigrants who spoke neither English nor French, people with lower levels of schooling had higher rates of employment than those who were highly educated. However, educated or not, in both the 1980s and the 1990s recent immigrants who could speak English or French were more likely to be employed than those who could not.

Canada's newcomers appear well equipped with language skills. In both the 1980s and the 1990s, the overwhelming majority of recent immigrants reported that they were able to conduct a conversation in one of the country's official languages.² In 1996, for example, 94% of men and 91% of women said that they spoke English or French. The figures in 1986 were similarly high: 93% of recent immigrant men and 89% of women claimed to speak at least one official language. One must, however, keep in mind that being able to converse informally does not necessarily indicate an ability to work in a language.

In general, education is also an important predictor of labour force performance. And newcomers who entered the country during the 1980s and the 1990s had, on average, higher levels of education than Canadian-born people in the same age group (25 to 44 years). In 1996, for example, the proportion of men with a university degree was twice as high among recent immigrants as among the Canadian-born: 36% versus 18%. Similarly, recent immigrant women were also more likely than Canadian-born women to have completed their university education: 31% compared with 20%. A similar pattern, although not as pronounced, appears at the other end of the educational spectrum: the proportion of men without high school graduation was

18% among recent immigrants and 23% among the Canadian-born aged 25 to 44. Among women, the proportion who had not completed high school was, at 19%, the same for both immigrants and those born in Canada.

Recent immigrants less likely to be employed in 1996

Despite their language abilities and high qualifications, recent immigrants are generally less likely to be employed than people born in Canada. In the short term this is not surprising, given that establishing oneself, making contacts and applying for jobs in a new environment tend to take time. However, compared with 1986, the employment situation of recent immigrants seems to have become more precarious both in absolute terms and relative to the Canadian-born; in 1996, immigrants found it substantially more difficult to secure jobs than did their predecessors in the 1980s. While this was also true for many Canadian-born, opportunities for immigrants have deteriorated more significantly.

For example, while in 1986 the employment rate of recent immigrant men aged 25 to 44 years was 81%, by 1996 it had declined to just 71%, indicating a substantial reduction in the likelihood of finding a job. Although during this period the employment rate of Canadian-born men also declined, it did so only slightly, from 87% to 84%. Immigrant men of the 1990s were notably worse off in the job market than their counterparts in the 1980s. And when

2. The census question on knowledge of official language asks respondents whether they are able to conduct a conversation in either or both of the official languages. The information collected, then, is based on respondents' self-assessment and may overstate (or understate) the actual abilities of these individuals in either or both languages.



Education does not improve employment opportunity for recent immigrants as much as it does for the Canadian-born

Highest level of schooling completed	% employed age 25 to 44			
	Men		Women	
	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants
Total	84	71	73	51
Less than high school	71	65	52	38
Secondary school	85	69	71	44
Non-university	88	74	79	58
Some postsecondary	83	67	72	47
University	92	73	86	58

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

it came to finding a job, in 1996 they fell farther behind Canadian-born men than had immigrants a decade earlier.

Recent immigrant women were in an even more disadvantaged position. While their employment rate was already low at 58% in 1986, by 1996 it had fallen to an even lower 51%. Meanwhile, as a result of changing career aspirations, higher educational attainment and families' need for two incomes, Canadian-born women's employment rate continued its upward climb, from 65% in 1986 to 73% in 1996. It appears that immigrant women of the 1990s lost out in the job market. Their employment rates were lower than those of their counterparts in the 1980s, they lagged behind Canadian-born women with the gap rising over the years, and they were also substantially behind immigrant men when it came to finding employment.

Why employment was more problematic for immigrants of the 1990s is not clear, particularly since these newcomers had higher educational levels and better language skills than those who had arrived in the 1980s. Partly, it may be the result of the economy's difficulties in absorbing new entrants. But a host of other issues, such as the types of skills immigrants bring with them, their cultural background and their personal characteristics, are likely at work as well.

Education doesn't pay off for recent immigrants

For the Canadian-born, more often than not, education is the key to finding employment. The situation for recent immigrants, however, is very different.³ Although their chances of

finding employment did increase somewhat with higher levels of education, their employment rates continued to lag far behind those of the Canadian-born. Among men with less than high school, for example, some 71% of the Canadian-born and 65% of recent immigrants were employed in 1996. However, at the university level, 92% of those born in Canada had jobs, compared with only 73% of recent immigrants. The difference was even more pronounced for immigrant women. For Canadian-born women, employment rates climbed from 52% for those with less than high school to 86% for the university educated. In contrast, the employment rate of recent immigrant women with a university degree was just 58%.

Nearly one out of three recent immigrants work in sales and services

When looking for jobs, newcomers are often willing to make what they hope will be short-term sacrifices. To get established in a new country, some may initially take jobs that fall below their qualifications or expectations. Others may be able to find work in areas of their expertise.

3. The employment and unemployment rates for recent immigrants were adjusted to take account of the different educational profiles of the immigrant and Canadian-born populations. This adjustment (known as standardization) removes the effect of any differences due to education when comparing the two populations. As well, the unemployment rates were standardized by age to account for the fact that a higher proportion of recent immigrants are in the younger age group of 25 to 34 years.

	Men		Women	
	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants
All occupations	%		%	
Management	11	9	7	5
Business, finance and administrative	10	10	33	21
Natural and applied sciences and related	9	12	2	4
Health	2	2	10	6
Social science, education, government service and religion	5	5	10	5
Art, culture, recreation and sport	2	2	3	3
Sales and service	17	24	27	38
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related	27	18	2	2
Primary industry	6	2	2	1
Processing, manufacturing and utilities	10	17	4	15

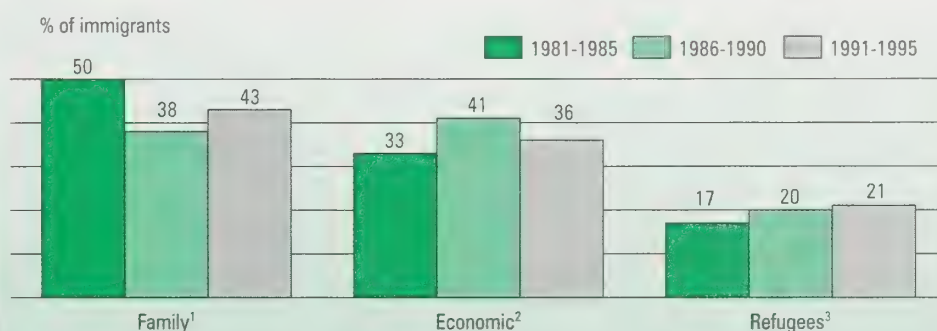
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

Immigration to Canada in the past two decades has been characterized by several changes: source countries of immigrants, selection criteria, and higher numbers of immigrants entering Canada each year in the 1990s (over 200,000). The number and selection of immigrants entering Canada are determined to a large extent by government policies controlling admissions. Since the late 1970s, Canada's immigration policy has been guided by three broad objectives: to reunite families; to fulfill Canada's international legal obligations, and compassionate and humanitarian traditions with respect to refugees; and to foster a strong and viable economy in all regions of Canada.¹

These objectives are reflected in the three categories under which people are admitted each year as permanent residents: family, humanitarian (refugees) and economic (skilled workers, business immigrants and their spouses and dependents). Only skilled workers and business immigrants (including investors, entrepreneurs and the self-employed) are selected on the basis of their labour market skills. Since 1967, skilled workers have been rated on a "point" system based on their age, education, training and occupation skills, demand for their occupation in Canada, existence of pre-arranged employment, and knowledge of one of Canada's official languages.

Between 1981 and 1985, the largest proportion (50%) of immigrants were admitted for reasons of family reunification, much higher than the 33% admitted in the economic category. In the following five year period (1986 to 1990) this pattern had changed, with the economic category accounting

for the largest proportion (41%) of immigrants and a slightly smaller proportion (38%) in the family category. During the early 1990s, a higher proportion of immigrants was admitted in the family category than the economic category, a pattern similar to that of the early 1980s. In contrast to these shifting trends in the economic and family component of immigration, the proportion admitted to Canada as refugees has remained fairly constant throughout both the 1980s and 1990s at around 17% to 21% of total immigration.



Note: Total does not include live-in caregivers (principle applicant, spouse or dependent), deferred removal order class, retirees, or the not stated category, which account for approximately 10% of total immigrants over this period.

1. Includes immediate family, parents and grandparents.

2. Includes skilled workers (principle applicants, spouses and dependents), business (principle applicants, spouses and dependents), as well as, provincial/territorial nominees.

3. Includes government assisted and privately sponsored refugees, refugees landed in Canada, and dependents abroad.

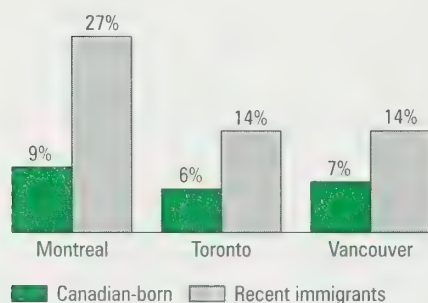
Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Landed Immigrant Data System.

A number of factors affect the extent to which recent arrivals integrate into Canada's labour market, as well as how quickly and easily this integration occurs. This article focuses on two important ones, level of education and knowledge of Canada's official languages. Other possible factors which may influence labour market outcomes are the selection of immigrants, their skills and attributes at the time of entry, their country of origin or visible minority status, as well as their intentions and aspirations for immigrating to Canada.

1. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. October 1994. Annual Report to Parliament. Ottawa. p.11.

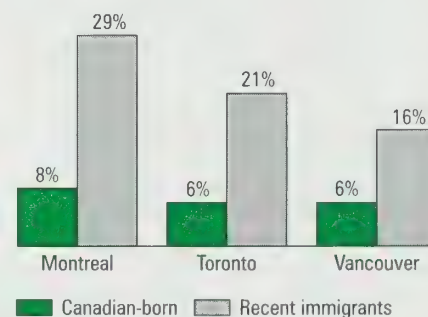
For various reasons — such as the availability of jobs, proximity to others with the same origin, or educational opportunities for themselves or their children — most of Canada's recent immigrants have made their homes in the country's three largest cities. Toronto received the lion's share, with 42%, followed by Vancouver (18%) and Montreal (13%). The impact on the working-age population has been significant: in 1996, recent immigrants accounted for 14% of Toronto's population aged 25 to 44, some 13% of Vancouver's and 6% of Montreal's. It is in these cities that the majority of immigrants are working or looking for jobs. Immigrant unemployment, then, is mostly an urban phenomenon, belonging particularly to Canada's three largest cities.

Unemployment rate for men aged 25-44 ...

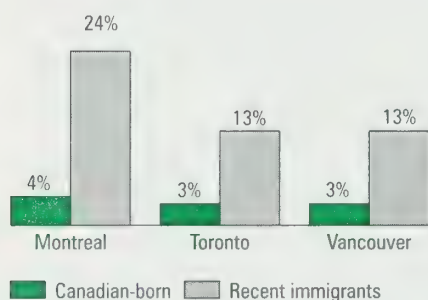


- Recent immigrants — both men and women — had the highest unemployment rates in Montreal.
- In Toronto and Vancouver, recent immigrant men were about two times more likely to be unemployed than their Canadian-born counterparts.
- Recent immigrant women had higher jobless rates than either immigrant men or women born in Canada.

Unemployment rate for women aged 25-44 ...

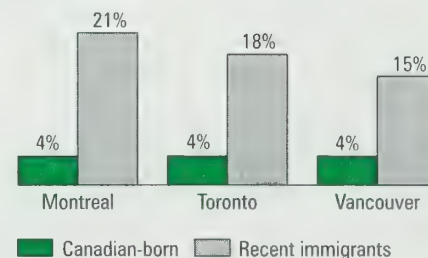


... with a university degree

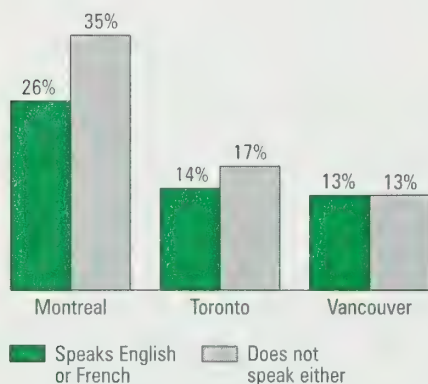


- Unlike the Canadian-born, recent immigrants did not see their unemployment rate decline significantly with higher education.
- University educated recent immigrants — both men and women — were most likely to be unemployed in Montreal.
- In both Toronto and Vancouver, university-educated immigrant men's jobless rates were more than four times the rate of their Canadian-born counterparts.

... with a university degree

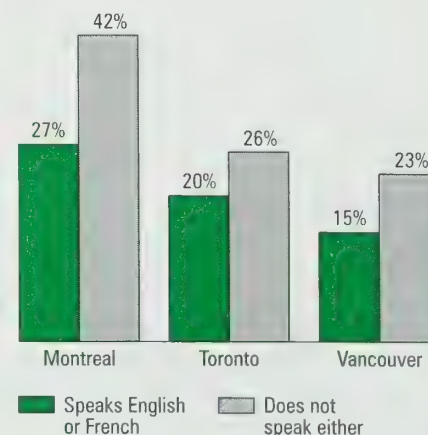


... recent immigrants



- In all three CMAs, knowledge of an official language affected women's unemployment rate more than men's.
- In Vancouver, immigrant men's unemployment rate did not vary with official language knowledge.

... recent immigrants



Note: See footnote 3, page 18 about standardization of unemployment rates.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

In 1996, recent immigrants were most likely to be employed in sales and service occupations. These jobs, which often require little or no previous experience and relatively few skills, tend to have easier entry requirements than other occupations. In addition, in today's increasingly service-oriented economy, sales and service jobs tend to be plentiful. It is not surprising, then, that some 31% of employed recent immigrants (38% of women and 24% of men) held these types of jobs compared with 23% of Canadian-born people aged 25 to 44 years. And although some in this sector were not highly educated (one-third of recent immigrants with less than high school worked in sales and services), others appear

to have been considerably overqualified. For example, nearly one-quarter of recent immigrants with university degrees held jobs in sales and service occupations, making them about twice as likely to work at these jobs as their Canadian-born counterparts. It is possible that some highly educated immigrants whose qualifications are not recognized in Canada fell into this category.

On the other hand, substantial proportions of recent immigrants, particularly men, were employed as highly skilled professionals. Nearly one-quarter of immigrant men with university degrees were working in occupations in the natural and applied sciences as, for instance, computer

CST

Youths and immigrants: new entrants facing a tough market

In some ways, the hurdles that recent immigrants face in the labour market resemble those faced by Canadian youths. While there are undoubtedly differences between these two groups – educational profile,¹ age, skills, social network, family responsibilities – youths and recent immigrants share some important characteristics. As new entrants to a competitive, and in some regions a tight, labour market, both groups are disadvantaged: they lack work experience (or Canadian work experience in the case of immigrants), tend not to have a well-established network of contacts, and are often under financial strain.

Indeed, even when they did succeed in finding employment, youths and immigrants were more likely than the rest of the population to work part-time or part-year and in entry-level service jobs. In 1995, the majority of employed people in both groups – 68% of youths and 58% of recent immigrants aged 25 to 44 years — were working part-time or part of the year compared with 42% of the Canadian-born between the ages of 25 and 44. While high levels of part-time employment are not a new development for either youths or immigrants (many in the 1980s were also in this situation), the incidence of this work arrangement has become more frequent since 1990. Industrial restructuring, rapid technological advances and a large baby-boomer workforce have all contributed to new entrants' increasing difficulties in securing full-time employment.

Both youths and recent immigrants were most likely to be employed in sales and service occupations. Among those in the labour force, 31% of recent immigrants and 43% of Canadian youth

were employed in these jobs compared with 22% of the Canadian-born aged 25 to 44.

The parallel between these two groups does not, however, end with work arrangements or type of employment. The proportions of youths and recent immigrants who were not able to find jobs were also remarkably similar. Indeed, in 1996, the overall unemployment rate of recent immigrants was virtually identical to that of youths: 17% and 18%, respectively.² And as did immigrants, young people also had most difficulty trying to find jobs in Montreal, although their unemployment rate (18%) was not nearly as high as that of recent immigrants (27%). In Toronto and Vancouver, unemployment rates for both groups were the same.

While the unemployment scenario of Canadian youths and recent immigrants converged in 1996, the situation in the 1980s was quite different. For example, in 1986 the jobless rate was a relatively low 12% for recent immigrants compared with a much higher 17% for youths. So while finding jobs that year was already difficult for young people, immigrants had an easier time.

1. Immigrants aged 25 to 44 were more highly educated than Canadian youth. Immigrant men were seven times more likely than young Canadian men to have a university degree. Immigrant women were almost four times more likely than Canadian young women to do so. However, the education gap becomes smaller if the comparison is restricted to large urban areas, where most immigrants settle.
2. Because information on school attendance was not available in the 1986 Census, the unemployment rates for Canadian youths (in both 1986 and 1996) refer to the population aged 15 to 24, regardless of school attendance.

engineers, chemists and aerospace engineers. In contrast, 17% of Canadian-born men with university degrees worked in these types of jobs.

Summary

The labour market of the 1990s has undergone a number of changes. Significant shifts in the composition of the workforce, industrial restructuring, rapid technological advances and a prolonged recession altered employment opportunities. As new entrants to this labour market, immigrants who came to Canada during the 1990s experienced difficulties finding employment. These initial difficulties are often related to the fact that newcomers tend to go through a temporary adjustment period while they become established in their new country. In that they lack Canadian work experience, do not yet have a solid network of contacts, and have faced labour market difficulties in the 1990s, their situation is more difficult than that of their Canadian-born contemporaries.

Based on the experiences of earlier immigrants, however, one might expect that with time the 1990s wave of immigrants will find jobs and participate fully in the Canadian economy. Indeed, over a decade, the unemployment rate of immigrants who came in the early 1980s dropped to the point where the rate for men matched that of the Canadian-born. Women also experienced improvements, if to a somewhat lesser extent. It is true that the 1990s immigrants arrived during a different economic climate, and that factors not addressed in this article — such as cultural background, intentions and aspirations, types of skills and attributes — also affect the ease of labour market entry. However, it seems reasonable to assume that time will again improve the employment opportunities of Canada's newcomers.



Jane Badets is a senior analyst and **Linda Howatson-Leo** is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



ABORIGINAL PEOPLES survey

**Invitation to all interested parties
and potential stakeholders**

Consultations for the
2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey

are currently underway.

We welcome your input and comments
in regards to the development of this
multi-topic survey covering issues
important to all Aboriginal peoples.

Comments can be sent through the
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Young men more likely to try more than one potentially harmful behaviour

According to the 1994/95 National Population Health Survey, the majority of teenagers and young adults (aged 15 to 24) had engaged in at least one of four potentially harmful activities (binge drinking, smoking, sex without a condom or sex with multiple partners) in the previous year. Men aged 20 to 24 were most at risk. More than one in five (22%) in this age group reported engaging in at least three of the four risk behaviours, compared with 17% of women. On the other hand, 19% of men and 31% of women aged 20 to 24 reported that they had tried none of these activities.

Health Reports,

Autumn 1998, Vol. 1, no. 2
Statistics Canada,
Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB or
Internet product 82-003-XIE



National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, Cycle 2

In 1994/95, the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY) began a comprehensive study of children under the age of 12. The second cycle, conducted in 1996/97, shows that the vast majority of these same children were growing up healthy and well-adjusted, and were progressing well in school. Still, a significant proportion of children lived in difficult family circumstances and faced other disadvantages that put their

development at risk. The movement of children's families into and out of a lower-income situation between 1994 and 1996 is attributable primarily to family breakdown and formation. Children of families that broke down between 1994 and 1996 were four times more likely to have moved into the lowest income quartile than others (26% versus 6%). The reverse was also true. Children of parents who were single in 1994 but were living with a partner in 1996 were also more than four times as likely to move out of the lower-income quartile as other children (30% versus 7%).

For information about the **National Survey of Children and Youth**, contact Sylvie Michaud (613)-951-9482 or Yvan Clermont (613)-951-3326.



Rural and small town population grows in the 1990s

Canada's rural and small town (RST) population grew by 4% between 1991 and 1996 (if reclassification of some RST areas into larger urban centres is not taken into account). This growth was not even across Canada. Newfoundland's RST population dropped by 5% while British Columbia's grew by 13% during this period. Canada's RST population was 19% smaller in 1996 than in 1976 due to the reclassification of RST areas into larger urban centres. In 1996, the share of Canada's population living in RSTs was 22% compared to 34% in 1976.

Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin

Vol. 1, no. 1
Statistics Canada,
Internet product 21-006-XIE



Income of dual-earner families hits record high in 1996

The recession of the early 1990s had only a temporary impact on the income of dual earner families. In 1996, the average income of two-partner families in which both had earnings matched the previous record of 1989, reaching \$71,100 in 1996. In contrast, average income of single-earner two-partner families in 1996 was still 7% lower than in 1989 at an average of \$52,500.

Characteristics of dual-earner families, 1996,

Statistics Canada,
Catalogue no. 13-215-XIB



Homicide rate declines

In 1997, the national homicide rate declined 9% to 1.92 per 100,000 population, its lowest point since 1969. The homicide rate has generally been decreasing since the mid-1970s, following rapid growth during the late 1960s and early 1970s. There were 581 homicides in 1997, 54 fewer than in 1996. Compared with other industrialized countries, Canada's 1997 rate was less than one-third that of the United States (6.70), but higher than that of most European countries, such as England and Wales (1.00) and France (1.66).

Juristat: Homicide in Canada, 1998

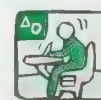
Vol. 18, no. 12
Statistics Canada,
Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE or
Internet product 85-002-XIE



Survey on the Importance of Nature to Canadians

About 85% of adults participated in one or more nature-related activities ranging from a picnic at the beach to camping, canoeing, sightseeing, fishing or hunting. People spent an estimated \$11 billion on nature-related activities averaging \$550 per participant. About one-third of participants visited a provincial or national park or other protected area.

For information about the **Survey on the Importance of Nature to Canadians**, contact Marc Hamel (613)-951-2495 or Chantal Hunter (819)-994-2177 (Environment Canada)



Undergraduate enrolment drops

After peaking early in the 1990s, undergraduate enrolment has declined for five consecutive years. The five-year decline was due to a sharp drop in part-time undergraduate students, especially among older age groups, while full-time enrolment has remained steady. Women aged 18 to 24 were the only group whose full-time undergraduate enrolment increased between 1992/93 and 1997/98 by 6%. In contrast, enrolment of men in this key age group declined by over 2% over the same period.

CANSIM tables 00580602, 00580603, 00580701 and 00580702

Seniors: A diverse group aging well

by Colin Lindsay

The United Nations has designated 1999 as the International Year of Older Persons. The goals of the year are to enhance understanding, harmony and mutual support across generations, and to help recognize seniors' contributions to their families and communities.

As part of Statistics Canada's involvement with the International Year of Older Persons, *Canadian Social Trends* will feature a series of articles over the next four quarters that address some of the issues affecting older Canadians. This first article sets the stage by highlighting the key demographic and socio-economic characteristics of seniors in Canada.

More very old seniors

The senior population in Canada has grown rapidly throughout most of the 20th century. In 1998, there were 3.7 million people aged 65 and over. They represented 12% of all Canadians, up substantially from only 5% in 1921. Growth is expected to continue, particularly after 2010, when the Baby Boom generation begins turning 65. According to Statistics Canada projections, seniors will account for 18% of the population by 2021, and for 23% by 2041.

The growth in the number of seniors has resulted largely from longer lifespans. A person aged 65 could expect to live an average five more years (to 83) in 1991, compared to the period between 1921 and 1941 (to 78).

People aged 85 and over account for the fastest growing component of the senior population in Canada. In 1998, there were more than 380,000 people in this age group, up from 140,000 in 1971. Overall, people aged 85 and over currently represent over 1% of the total population, double the share in 1971. Statistics Canada projections indicate that in 2041, there will be almost 1.6 million Canadians aged 85 and over, accounting for nearly 4% of the total population.

Women make up the majority of Canadian seniors – in 1998, 57% of all people aged 65 and over, and 70% aged 85 and older, were female. Women outnumber men in these age groups largely because they live considerably longer than men. A woman aged 65 in 1996, for instance, could expect to live another 22 years, compared with 17 years for a man the same age. Unfortunately, the Health Adjusted Life Expectancy indicator, which estimates the number of years a person can expect to live in good health, suggests that a considerable portion of the extra years women live is actually spent in poor health.¹

The majority of Canadians aged 65 and over are married, but in fact,

women were more likely to be widowed (46% in 1996) than married (41%). On the other hand, most men were married (77%) and only a small percent were widowers (13%).

Most seniors live in their own homes

Almost all seniors, 93% in 1996, live in a private household. In that year, the majority were living with their immediate (62%) or extended (7%) families. At the same time, over one in four (29%) lived alone. Because women tend to outlive their spouses, they are much more likely than men to live alone: 38% versus 16% in 1996. This is particularly the case for women aged 85 and over, 58% of whom lived by themselves.

A relatively large proportion of seniors own their homes. In 1997, 84% of families headed by someone aged 65 and over and 50% of unattached people aged 65 and over owned their home, compared with 71% and 35% of their counterparts aged 15 to 64.

Most senior homeowners — 84% of families and 89% of individuals — have paid off their mortgages. Also, the quality of seniors' homes is generally as good as, if not better than, that of their younger counterparts: seniors tend to have more living space and are less likely to live in houses needing repairs other than regular maintenance.

Seniors get, and provide, much social support

One of the questions most often asked about the aging of society is, "Who is

1. Berthelot, Jean-Marie, Roger Roberge and Michael Wolfson. 1992. *The Calculation of Health-Adjusted Life Expectancy for a Canadian Province Using a Multi-Attribute Utility Function: A First Attempt*. Statistics Canada, Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series No. 50.

looking after Canada's seniors?" The answer is that, for the most part, they are looking after themselves.

At the same time, however, substantial numbers of seniors do get help around the house from family and friends. In 1995, 62% of people aged 65 and over received some help with household chores and other personal tasks.

Family support networks involving seniors, however, are a two-way street, with considerable help going from seniors to their families. For example, in 1995, almost 20% of people aged 65 and over looked after children at least once a week. Almost as many (23%) provided unpaid care to other seniors, though mostly it was seniors aged 65 to 74 who tended to help out those aged 85 and over.

Many seniors have a chronic health problem

While the majority (73%) of seniors living at home report that their overall health is relatively good, most do have some kind of chronic health condition, such as heart trouble, diabetes, rheumatism or arthritis. In 1995, 81% reported they had at least one chronic health condition that had been diagnosed by a health professional, and 39% said their activity was somewhat restricted by their condition.

In addition, 33% reported they had cognition problems, that is, they were either somewhat or very forgetful, or they had difficulty thinking. And 8% of seniors could not see well enough to read, even with glasses, and 6% could not hear well enough to follow a group conversation, even with a hearing aid.

Because seniors generally have a number of health problems, they tend to make substantial demands on the health care system. In 1993-94, for example, seniors had a hospitalization rate almost three times that of people aged 45 to 64. As well, the

average hospital visit of people aged 65 and over lasted 20 days that year, compared with 10 days or less among those under age 65.

However, hospitalization rates also differ significantly between younger and older seniors. In 1993-94, the hospitalization rate for people aged 75 and over was almost 70% higher than among those aged 65 to 74, while the average stay per visit was 25 days for these older seniors, versus 15 days for their younger counterparts.

The majority of seniors use prescription or over-the-counter medication. In 1995, 74% had taken at least one type of medication in the preceding two days and 51% had taken two or more.

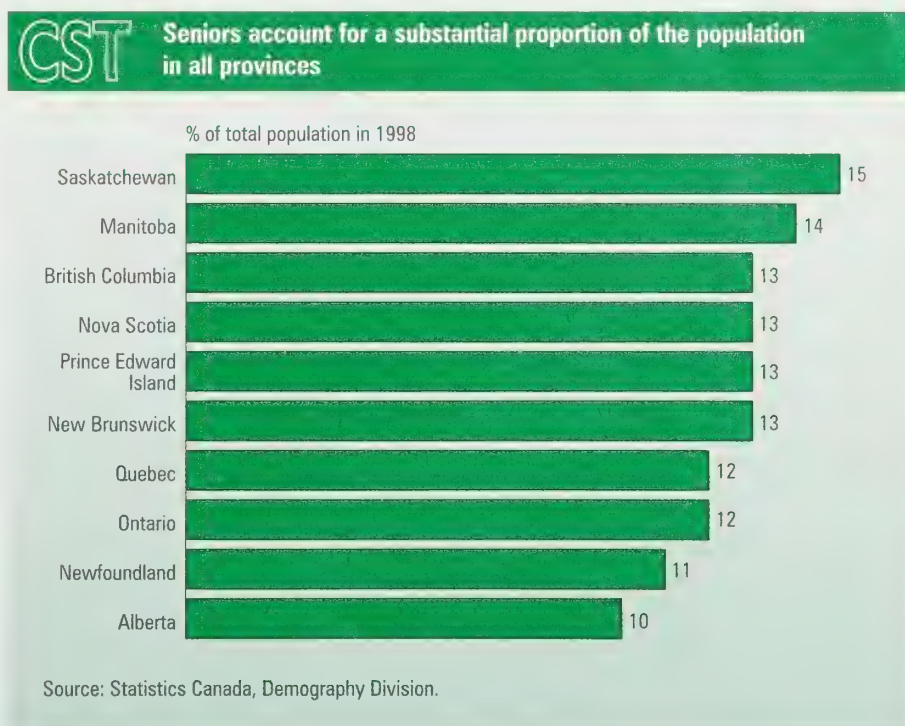
Rising incomes among seniors

In contrast to Canadians under 65, whose average incomes have not changed significantly in the past two decades, seniors have seen their incomes rise since the early 1980s. Between 1981 and 1997, the average income of seniors rose 17% (adjusted for inflation), compared with a 2% decline for the population under age 65. This has resulted, in part, in a

significant drop in the share of seniors living below Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs (LICOs), from 34% in 1980 to 21% in 1996. Nonetheless, seniors are still moderately more likely than younger adults aged 18 to 64 to have low incomes.

The overall decline in low income, however, masks the fact that, in 1996, 53% of senior women living without families (either on their own or living with non-relatives) were in a low-income situation. In contrast, 33% of unattached men aged 65 and over had incomes below the LICOs. Meanwhile, only 8% of senior women living in a family had low incomes.

Most of the gains in the average incomes of seniors over the past two decades have come from work-related pensions, either CPP/QPP or private employment pensions. The largest share of seniors' income, however, remains the Old Age Security program, which in 1997 provided 29% of all the income of seniors. At the same time, 20% of the income came from CPP/QPP, while 21% came from private retirement pensions and 14% from investments.



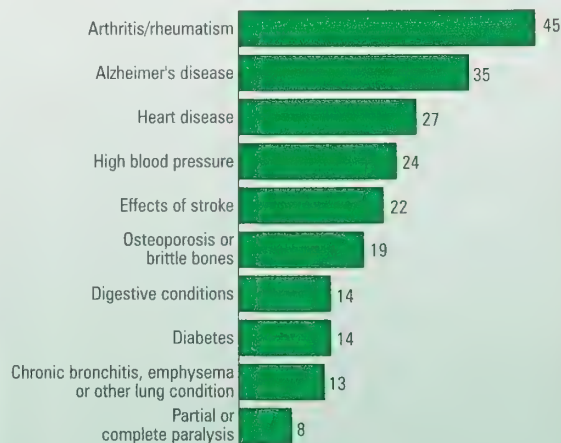
While most seniors live in a private household, over 250,000 (or 7%) lived in an institution in 1996. These seniors made up 74% of all institutionalized Canadians that year. Most institutionalized seniors (about 85%) reside in special care homes for the elderly and chronically ill. Not surprisingly, the very elderly are most likely to be in an institution. In 1996, 38% of women and 24% of men aged 85 and over were institutionalized, compared with 10% and 7%, respectively, of those aged 75 to 84 and only 2% of both women and men aged 65 to 74.

The health of seniors living in an institution is not as good as that of their counterparts living in a private household. Indeed, 95% suffered from at least one chronic health condition. The large majority (80%) also experienced some activity restriction because of a long-term health condition. Consequently, 72% needed help with personal care such as bathing, dressing, and eating; while almost half needed help either getting in and out of bed, getting in and out of a chair, or moving about the facility.

As with seniors living in private households, arthritis and rheumatism were the long-term health conditions most likely to affect seniors living in an institution. In 1995, 45% had arthritis or rheumatism. However, many had more debilitating conditions:

over one-third had Alzheimer's disease or other dementia, while about one-fifth were suffering the effects of a stroke. Over one-quarter were also severely vision- and hearing-impaired. Despite these problems, only 22% of seniors living in an institution rated their health as poor.

% of institutionalized seniors with chronic health condition



Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1995.

Seniors have an active lifestyle

Seniors engage in a wide range of activities, taking advantage of the leisure time that retirement offers (7.7 hours per day, compared with 5.4 for younger adults). A considerable amount of this leisure time, about 2 hours per day, is spent socializing, visiting or talking on the phone with friends, going to restaurants, having people over for meals, and so on. Almost an hour and a half is devoted to other leisure activities such as sports, hobbies, playing cards, and driving for pleasure. Television is also important to seniors, with women spending 3.1 and men 3.5 hours per day watching their favourite programs.

Many seniors are also physically active, with almost half (47%) reporting they engaged in regular physical activity in 1995, and a substantial minority (14%) taking part occasionally. Walking

and hiking was the most common pursuit (14%), but exercise or yoga classes were also popular (5%). Almost one in five (19%) participated in formal volunteer work.

Seniors are more likely than younger adults to attend church or other religious functions regularly. In 1996, 37% of people aged 65 and over attended religious services at least once a week, compared with less than 16% of those under age 45. Seniors are also travelling more than they did in the past, making an average of 3.2 trips within Canada and one trip outside the country in 1994-95.

Summary

Canadian seniors are, in general, doing reasonably well. Most live at home with their family; most believe their health is good; most are reasonably

comfortable financially; and most lead relatively active lives. The senior population is not, however, a homogeneous group. Seniors between 65 and 74 more closely resemble people under 65 than older seniors, while 75- to 84-year-olds appear to be in an age of transition. Canadians aged 85 and over are most likely to be characterized by many of the serious problems usually associated with old age.

Colin Lindsay is a senior analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
INCOME*								
<i>Average total money income</i>								
All	19,876	19,311	19,450	18,998	19,353	19,426	19,516	—
Families	58,945	57,540	57,224	56,047	57,098	57,000	57,546	—
Unattached individuals	26,264	24,919	25,274	24,824	25,037	24,932	24,829	—
<i>Percent of income from transfer payments</i>								
All	11.8	13.2	13.8	14.3	14.1	13.5	13.3	—
Families	10.6	11.9	12.5	12.9	12.5	12.1	11.7	—
Unattached individuals	17.7	19.7	20.0	20.9	21.7	20.2	20.8	—
<i>Average income of families, by quintiles</i>								
Lowest quintile	18,871	18,391	18,009	17,884	18,360	18,284	17,729	—
2nd	36,821	35,179	34,914	33,886	35,011	34,545	34,402	—
3rd	52,874	50,692	50,878	49,453	50,914	49,857	50,366	—
4th	70,881	68,861	68,923	67,630	68,710	68,319	69,293	—
Highest quintile	115,291	114,560	113,399	111,371	112,491	113,964	115,938	—
Dual-earner couples as % of husband-wife families	62.0	61.5	61.2	60.3	60.4	60.5	60.5	—
Women's earnings as % of men's, full-time full-year workers	67.7	69.9	71.9	72.2	69.8	73.1	73.4	—
% of persons below Low Income Cut-offs (LICOs)	15.4	16.5	17.0	18.0	17.1	17.8	17.9	—
Families with head aged 65 and over	7.6	8.2	8.7	9.7	7.1	7.8	8.7	—
Families with head less than age 65	13.1	13.8	14.4	15.5	14.6	15.4	15.5	—
Two-parent families with children	9.8	10.8	10.6	12.2	11.5	12.8	11.8	—
Lone-parent families	54.4	55.4	52.3	55.0	53.0	53.0	56.8	—
Unattached individuals aged 65 and over	50.7	50.9	49.2	51.9	47.6	45.1	47.9	—
Unattached individuals less than age 65	32.4	35.2	36.3	36.2	38.0	37.2	37.1	—
FAMILIES**								
<i>Marriages and divorces</i>								
Number of marriages ('000)	188	172	165	159	160	160	—	—
Marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.4	5.2	—
Number of divorces ('000)	78	77	79	78	79	78	—	—
Total divorce rate (per 1,000 population)	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.4	—
Total number of families ('000)	—	7,356	—	—	—	—	7,838	—
<i>Family composition (%)</i>								
Married couples with children	—	48.1	—	—	—	44.6	45.1	—
without children	—	29.2	—	—	—	29.8	28.6	—
Common-law couples with children	—	4.0	—	—	—	5.3	5.5	—
without children	—	5.8	—	—	—	6.7	6.2	—
Female lone-parents	—	10.7	—	—	—	11.7	12.1	—
Male lone-parents	—	2.2	—	—	—	2.0	2.5	—
<i>Number of one-person households ('000)***</i>								
Under age 65	1,584	1,688	1,685	1,873	1,888	1,909	1,300	—
Age 65 and over	854	871	1,058	1,034	1,013	1,138	1,776	—

* All income data in 1997 dollars; families are economic families.

** Family composition data from the Census of Population for 1991 and 1996, and General Social Survey for 1995. Families are census families.

*** Data on one-person households from the General Social Survey.

Lesson plan for "The Crowded Nest: Young Adults at Home"

Objectives

- ☐ To explore why young people today are more likely to live with their parents than did those a generation before.
- ☐ To become aware of the underlying social, economic and psychological reasons that contribute to young people's decision to leave their parents or stay with them.

Method

1. Read "The Crowded Nest: Young Adults at Home" and write down five key facts or ideas in point form.
2. The article suggests that events such as leaving high school, securing a full-time job, becoming financially independent, getting married and leaving parents' home are indicators of being an adult. Do you agree? Explain your answer.
3. What does being an adult mean to you? Does it include living away from your parents?
4. "...because they have greater involvement in household tasks as teenagers, young women may be better able to take care of themselves... in terms of cooking, cleaning and laundry skills." Set up a debating team with one side agreeing and the other side disagreeing with the above statement.
5. Conduct an informal survey of the students to determine how many know of older brothers, sisters or cousins in their 20s or 30s who still live with their parents. Do the socio-economic characteristics of these young people differ from those who have left their parents' home?
6. Research how much it would cost to live away from your parents. Use newspapers, flyers and other local guides to calculate expenditures such as rent, food, clothing, entertainment, education, and repayment of student loans. Determine how you would pay for these expenses by visiting Human Resources Development Canada's web site, which shows earnings of different types of jobs. Other resources may be available in your guidance office.
7. Interview your parents to find out why they moved out of their parents' home when they did. Compare their situation with your own. Have circumstances changed and if yes, how? Consider issues such as economic cycles, number of children per family, youth unemployment rate, educational costs, peer pressure and the generation gap.

Using other resources

- ☐ Morissette, René. "Declining Earnings of Young Men." *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-008-XPE, Autumn 1997.
- ☐ Clark, Warren. "Paying off Student Loans." *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-008-XPE, Winter 1998.
- ☐ Picot, Garnett and John Myles. "Children in Low Income Families." *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-008-XPE, Autumn 1996.
- ☐ Sunter, Deborah. "Youth and the Labour Market." *Labour Force Update*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 71-005-XPB, Spring 1997.

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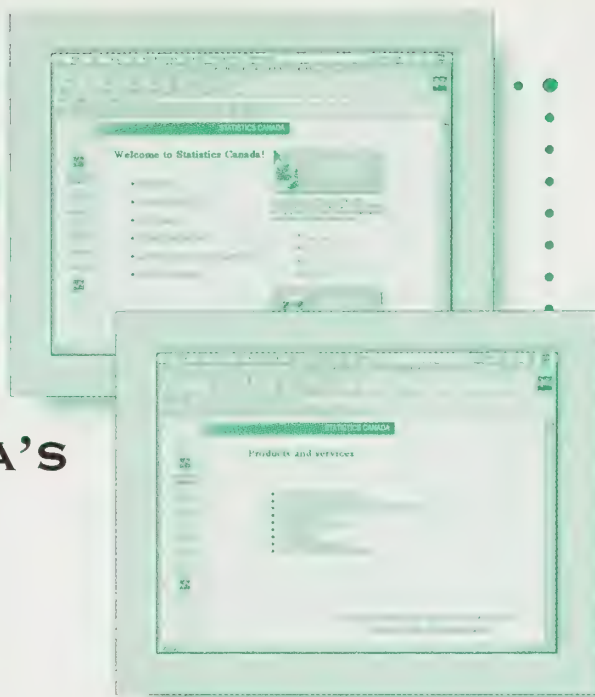
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The Globe and Mail

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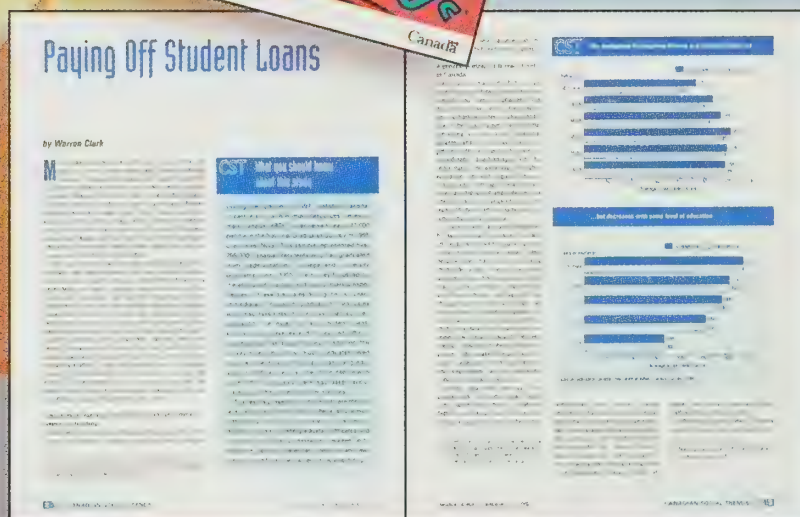
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SOCIAL TRENDS



FEATURES

Widows living alone

*Three generations
living together*

*Finding work
after graduation*

Youth and crime

A third baby

Melanoma

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COVER ILLUSTRATION

Lori Langille's award-winning cover illustration for *Canadian Social Trends* is a powerful statement on the challenges facing our society. The cover features a woman's face, a symbol of hope and resilience, set against a background of a city skyline. The woman's face is a composite of many faces, representing the diversity of our population. The city skyline is a symbol of progress and innovation. The cover is a masterpiece of art and design, and it is a testament to the power of visual communication.

Widows Living Alone

by Irwin Bess

The death of a spouse can be very stressful, particularly for many older women who may have devoted most of their lives to their husband, children and home. They are suddenly alone — often for the first time ever — and in addition to the emotional adjustment, they also have to decide about new living arrangements. With many years of life ahead, widows have a number of options such as living on their own, sharing a home with family or friends, or moving into a seniors' residence.

According to the 1995 General Social Survey, 75% of Canada's 887,000 widows aged 65 and over lived alone. Most of these widows had left home before age 25 to marry and have children. They remained married to the same man for an average of 39 years, and were widowed at the average age of 63. As of 1995, most (82%) had been widowed for at least four years. This article examines some of the characteristics that appear to predispose widowed women to live on their own, with particular emphasis on the extent of their contact with family and friends.

Half of senior widows still live in the home once shared with their husband

Although the majority of widows have at least one son or daughter, most do not live with their children.¹



Living with family may provide emotional and economic support, but it raises a number of other practical questions such as the widow's involvement in day-to-day decisions about household and family activities, and the effect on her friendships, lifestyle and privacy.² Thus, a widow may feel that sharing a home would jeopardize her independence while increasing the likelihood of conflicts with her children, many of whom have children of their own.

This argument finds some support in the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS), which found that three in four Canadian widows aged 65 and over

1. Connidis, Ingrid Arnet. 1989. *Family Ties and Aging*. Toronto: Butterworths.
2. According to the 1996 General Social Survey, 17% of widows living with a married son or daughter felt that they had little to no control over day-to-day decisions affecting their lives, while less than 4% of those living alone felt that way.

(about 661,000) lived by themselves. Another 11% (about 95,000) lived with an unmarried adult son or daughter, while a further 11% shared a home with a married adult child and their families. The remainder (36,000) lived with siblings, other relatives or friends.

Some researchers contend that newly widowed women should not leave the home they shared with their husband for at least one year, since its many family memories and traditions can provide stability and emotional security; but they also warn that the therapeutic value of living alone in the family home may diminish over time and delay the transition to independence.³ Nevertheless, slightly more than half (53%) of widows living alone in 1995 still occupied the home they had shared with their husband, and the large majority of these women (92%) had been widowed for more than three years. Homeowners were particularly well-grounded in their neighbourhood: among widows living by themselves, those who owned the family home had resided there for an average of 29 years, while widows in rental housing once shared with their husband had lived there for about 12 years.⁴

After the death of their husband, widows may see less of other couples with whom they previously had close contact; similarly, they may sense increasing emotional distance from their husband's friends and family as the years pass. For example, when respondents to the 1996 GSS were asked how many relatives they felt close to emotionally (excluding their children), widows living alone reported an average of only four relatives, compared to an

average of six for married women. To compensate for the diminution of their previous social network, widows who live alone may look to strengthen their emotional ties with friends.

Three-quarters of senior widows living alone said they felt most close emotionally to a neighbour

Supportive relationships are key to dealing with the changes wrought by widowhood.⁵ Whether continued residency in the family home helps or hinders long-term adjustment to widowed life, staying in the neighbourhood can help to maintain these relationships. Living alone is often balanced by frequent social contact, and senior widows seem to depend on a network of other women their own age. About one-half of widowed women living on their own in 1996 had a strong attachment to four or more friends; in fact, three-quarters of senior widows living alone said they felt most close emotionally to a neighbour. Being close friends with a neighbour allows frequent social contact, help with household tasks and emotional support during stressful times. Homeowners were likely to have more close friends

than widows who rented, probably reflecting the length of time most had lived in the same residence.

Children and grandchildren living nearby may also provide a stable source of support for widows on their own.⁶ According to the GSS, well over half (59%) of widows living by themselves in 1995 reported at least one adult child residing within 10 kilometres and almost one-fifth had a child within 50 kilometres. Although daily visits from a son or daughter were more common for widows in only fair or poor health (28%) than for those in good to excellent health (17%), weekly visits were equally frequent regardless of health status (43% and 45%, respectively).

Who is most likely to live alone?

A number of factors are significantly associated with a widow's living arrangement at age 65 and over. A statistical technique called logistic regression estimates the likelihood that, when the

5. Lopata, Helena Z. 1996. *Current Widowhood: Myths and Realities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

6. Martin Matthews, Anne. 1987. "Widowhood as Expectable Life Event," in *Aging in Canada*, Victor W. Marshall (ed.), Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

GST What you should know about this study

The General Social Survey (GSS), conducted since 1985, gathers data on social trends and policy issues of current or emerging interest. It covers all persons aged 15 and over residing in private households in the ten provinces. This study uses data primarily from the 1995 GSS, which focused on the family, marital histories and contact with children. Analysis is based upon over 600 female respondents representing 887,000 women age 65 and over in private households who were widows at the time of the interview. Additional analysis was supported by data from the 1996 GSS focusing on community and social support, as well as data from the 1996 Census.

3. Hartwigsen, Gail. 1987. "Older Widows and the Transference of Home," *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 25, 3.

4. Over one-half (55%) of widows living alone in 1995 owned their dwelling.

Current age

<i>65 to 69</i>	1.0
70 to 74	1.0
75 to 79	1.7*
80 and over	3.7

Age at widowhood

<i>Before age 65</i>	1.0
Age 65 to 74	3.0
Age 75 and over	1.2*

Number of living children

<i>Had raised no children or has no living children</i>	1.0
One or two	0.2
Three or more	0.1

Experience living alone before age 60

<i>Never</i>	1.0
For at least three consecutive months	8.9

Occupying residence previously shared with husband

<i>No</i>	1.0
Yes	1.0*

Health status

<i>Fair to poor</i>	1.0
Good	2.1
Very good to excellent	2.5

Limited in amount of physical activity can do at home

<i>No</i>	1.0
Yes	1.3*

Income

<i>Above \$20,000</i>	1.0
\$10,000 to \$20,000	0.5*
Less than \$10,000	0.2

Note: Reference group shown in italics. An odds ratio close to 1.0 for the comparison group means there is little or no difference between widows in the comparison group and the reference group, when the effects of other factors shown in the table are controlled for.

* Not statistically significant.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

effects of other factors are controlled for, widows with certain characteristics will live alone as opposed to living with family or friends.

Many people assume that widows who live alone tend to be younger seniors. This is not the case. In fact, the odds that widows aged 80 and over would live alone was close to four times greater than those for widows aged 65 to 69, perhaps because the older group has lost other kin with whom they might have lived.

A woman's age at the time of her husband's death also influences the likelihood of living alone in the senior years. Women who lost their husband between the ages of 65 and 74 are three times more likely to live by themselves than women who lost their husband before they were 65. This finding supports other research which has found that women widowed younger in life may adjust to widowhood differently.⁷ Women experiencing their husband's death at a younger age may still have dependent children at home. Also, women widowed early in life may not be able to benefit from a social network that could support them living independently, since they are probably the first of their friends and acquaintances to be widowed.

The overwhelming majority of widows who do not live alone are sharing a home with their adult sons or daughters, so there is a strong relationship between kin and living arrangement. Depending on the number of children they have, widows with children were only 10% to 20% as likely to be living by themselves as childless widows.

Although living independently requires some basic physical capability — taking care of personal needs, moving about in the home, and so on — having some activity limitations did

7. McPherson, Barry. 1990. *Aging as a Social Process: An Introduction to Individual and Population Aging*. Toronto: Butterworths.

not affect the likelihood that a widow would live on her own, after controlling for other factors. However, general overall health was an important determinant; the odds were over twice as great for widows in good to excellent health as for those whose health was fair to poor.

Widows now in their senior years tend to be an economically vulnerable group because most did not work outside the home during their married life; in fact, two-thirds of their children reported in the 1995 GSS that their mother had never been employed in the paid workforce while they were growing up. Many widows rely on public pension plans, survivor benefits or income support programs. Not

surprisingly, the odds of living alone are lowest among widows with low incomes: compared with widows whose total annual personal income was over \$20,000, those with an income below \$10,000 were only one-fifth as likely to be living on their own.

The experience of living alone before being widowed may be yet another predictor. A widow will have many accomplishments to her credit, including raising her children, volunteer work and/or career. However, many had never lived by themselves for three consecutive months or more.⁸ Compared with these widows, the odds of living alone at 65 and over were nine times greater for those who had lived on their own before age 60.

Summary

Becoming a widow often forces older women to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of sharing a home against those of living by themselves. Certainly, living on one's own can be a lonely and difficult experience at times. But the majority of widowed women aged 65 and over do live on their own, perhaps because they have strong support networks: many of them have lived in the same home for a long time and have close relationships with friends and their adult children. The belief that older widowed women living by themselves are isolated from supportive social relationships appears to be mistaken.

8. According to the 1995 General Social Survey, about 23% of senior widows who were living with others had never lived alone for 3 months or more.



Irwin Bess is an analyst with Statistics Canada.

GST Widowers

Men represent a small proportion of all senior widowed persons. In 1996, only 11% of senior men, compared with about 46% of senior women, were widowed. Over the century, the gap between the number of widowed women and men aged 65 and over has widened substantially, from about two widows for every widower to about five to one by 1996 (887,000 women and 164,500 men in private households). The rising ratio is due to a combination of factors, including greater female life expectancy and age differences at marriage (according to the 1995 GSS, widows had been about five years younger than their husbands).



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 91-535E, 1990; 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population.



Under one roof: Three generations living together

by Janet Che-Alford and Brian Hamm

In contemporary Canadian society it is rare to find grandparents, parents and children living together. In the vast majority of cases, grandparents live in one home, while their children and grandchildren live in another. This "intimacy-from-a-distance" relationship, which largely reflects both grandparents' and parents' mutual preference for privacy and independence, has become somewhat like a prescribed norm. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that in 1996, three-generation households represented less than 3% of all family households in Canada.

Nonetheless, the number of three-generation households has risen 39% over the past decade, from some 150,000 in 1986 to more than 208,000 in 1996, a rate of increase more than twice that of all family households. This article uses census data to examine the characteristics of three-generation households in 1986 and 1996. It also explores why some families may be more likely than others to settle into an arrangement where grandparents, parents and children live under the same roof.

Over half of three-generation households have one grandparent
Canada's 208,000 three-generation households take many different shapes and forms. In 1996, the most common arrangement consisted of a home shared by one grandparent, two parents and any number of children — 31% of three-generation households fell into this category. The next two most common arrangements were

those centred around a single parent and children, but while one grandparent rounded out the first type of family (some 24% of three-generation families), two grandparents were present in the second (24%). Finally, in 21% of cases, three-generation households were made up of two grandparents, two parents and children.

Although many people might believe that extended family living is

What you should know about this study

This study is based on data from the 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses of Population.

Three-generation household: one in which at least one member of each of the three direct, parent-child generations is present.

Family household: one which contains at least one economic family, that is, a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

Activity limitations: sometimes called disability, it is the consequence of an impairment in terms of functional performance and activity by the individual. For instance, the consequence of spina bifida may be the inability to walk.

more common in rural Canada, the vast majority of three-generation households (80% in 1996 and 74% in 1986) live in cities. The urban concentration of these households is no different than that of the general population.

The provincial distribution of three-generation households also resembles that of the general population. The majority of these households were found in Ontario (44%), British Columbia (16%) and Quebec (16%), which taken together accounted for 76% of the nation's three-generation households in 1996, up from 70% in 1986. However, as a percentage of all households, they were most common in Newfoundland (just over 4%) and least common in Quebec (less than 2%).

Asian immigrants contribute to rise in three-generation households

The provincial distribution of households reveals strong associations between three-generation households and the immigrant population. Overall, nearly half of all three-generation households in Canada were headed by immigrants.¹ This average, however, masks some widely varying scenarios; in both British Columbia and Ontario, immigrants headed every six out of ten three-generation households, while the proportion was closer to four out of ten in Alberta and just three out of ten in Quebec.

Through successive waves of arrivals over the years, immigrants have come to account for a substantial share (17%) of Canada's population. Since the 1970s, the overall number of immigrants from the United Kingdom and Europe has declined, while the number of those from Asia has increased. Three-generation families are part of

1. Census respondents are asked to identify a reference person or "head" for their household and then to describe the relationship of each household member to this individual.

this trend. In 1996, more than one out of five family households (22%), and nearly half of three-generation households (46%), were headed by immigrants. Among immigrants who arrived between 1986 and 1996, Asians made up the majority (75%) of three-generation household heads.

The gain of Asian immigrants may explain, at least in part, the rising number of three-generation households in Canada

This gain of Asian immigrants may explain, at least in part, the recent rise of three-generation households in Canada. People born in Asia are more culturally accustomed to live in a large, extended family system. And because most Asian immigrants are recent arrivals, they are more likely to uphold the traditions of their country than immigrants who have been in Canada longer.

Family re-unification may also have contributed to the increase of three-generation households. Indeed, between 1986 and 1996, family re-unification accounted for more than 30% of all immigrants.² The arrival of an elderly parent joining the family of

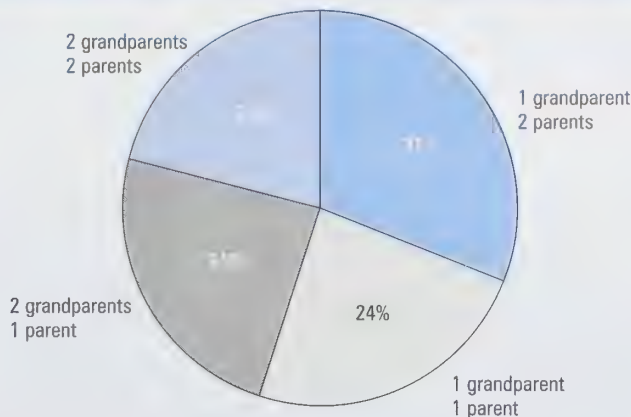
an adult child can add to the pool of three-generation households.

40% of three-generation households include someone with an activity limitation

Health is one of the key factors affecting people's living arrangements. This is particularly so when one's ability to perform specific household tasks (such as getting in and out of bed, cutting food, walking up and down the stairs) is compromised. The loss of functional independence is often a reason for a person to live with others, very often with relatives. According to the 1996 Census, 40% of three-generation households included someone with an activity limitation. The majority (over 70%) of these activity limitations had lasted, or were expected to last, at least six months. Three-generation households were also likely to have more than one family member with a disability; in 1996, for example, 13% of these households included two or more persons with limitations compared with 6% of all family households.

2. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. *Landed Immigrant Data System*.

CST Nearly one-third of three-generation households comprised one grandparent, two parents and children



Note: Third generation always present.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

Because older people are generally more susceptible to chronic health conditions, physical ailments and activity limitations, it is often assumed that grandparents account for the high proportion of persons with disabilities in three-generation households. However, 1996 Census data do not confirm this view. Indeed, they suggest that members with activity limitations were just as likely to belong to the younger as the older generation; for example, in 1996, 37% came from the oldest and 38% from the middle generation, with children accounting for the remaining 25%. The pattern was nearly identical in 1986, when the first and second generations each accounted for 38% of household members with limitations. It appears, then, that three-generation households act as family support systems for all members with disabilities, young or old.

Three-generation households pool resources for higher family incomes and larger homes

Pooling resources among family members can help secure shelter payments and reduce economic hardship. The 1996 Census asked each household to report who paid the rent or mortgage, taxes, electricity, and other expenses for the dwelling. These persons were labelled "household maintainers." It is reasonable to assume that if more than one maintainer is reported in a household, income pooling has taken place.

According to census data, households with multiple maintainers were quite common; about 45% of all family households and 48% of three-generation households had more than one maintainer. But it is in the case of three or more maintainers that major differences between households can be observed. While the probability of

having three or more maintainers was 13% in three-generation households, it was only 2% in all family households (and only slightly higher, 3%, in family households with three or more persons). It appears that pitching in for shelter payments among extended kin is quite an acceptable arrangement in three-generation households.

Three-generation households were also more likely to have multiple income recipients. In 1996, over 80% of these households had at least three income recipients compared with less than one-quarter of all family households. As a result, three-generation households had higher average incomes: \$66,000 versus \$57,000 for all family households. However, since these households also had more members, averaging five persons per household compared with three for all family households, their per capita

Three-generation households were more likely to have a member with an activity limitation...

	Three-generation households		All family households	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total households	208,500	100	7,841,000	100
With a person with activity limitation	82,700	40	1,594,200	20
Long-term	58,700	28	1,226,700	16
Not long-term	24,000	12	367,500	5
No person with activity limitations	125,800	60	6,246,800	80

...and to have multiple income recipients

Number of income recipients in the household

None	35	0	8,140	0.1
One	2,800	1	1,052,075	13
Two	36,620	18	4,866,980	62
Three	77,905	37	1,233,845	16
More than three	91,100	44	679,955	9

Note: Numbers may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.



income (\$13,000) turned out to be lower than that of all family households (\$19,000). And if per capita income is used as a proxy for economic well-being, then members of three-generation households were considerably less well off than their counterparts in other families. However, pooling of resources does allow for economies of scale, which have the effect of raising the standard of living.

Like other family households, the majority of those with three generations (69%) lived in single detached houses in 1996 and most (77%) owned their homes. About one-third were mortgage-free. Unlike all family households, however, almost two-thirds of three-generation households (61%) lived in houses with more than seven rooms. But because they tend to have more members than the average household (five versus three), despite their larger accommodations, three-generation households ended up with less room per person. Considering that their houses were larger, it is not surprising that average shelter costs — for both owned and rented accommodation — were higher for three-generation families.

Grandparents help families cope financially

It is interesting to identify which generation in three-generation families contributes to household maintenance. In households with only one maintainer, that maintainer was most

often the grandparent: in 59% of cases in 1986 and 55% in 1996. In situations where there were multiple maintainers, the contribution of grandparents for shelter payments was also considerable. At least one grandparent helped out with household payments in about 55% of three-generation households in 1991 and 54% in 1996.³

From these figures it is clear that, over the past decade, grandparents have played a key role as contributors to shelter payments in three-generation households. This period coincides with a time when structural changes in the economy eroded the ability of many young families to be economically self-sufficient. The financial contribution of grandparents may have alleviated the harsher aspects of tough economic circumstances.

Summary

Despite a general preference for nuclear family households, some Canadians have settled into a living arrangement involving three generations — an arrangement which became much more common between 1986 and 1996. With current trends to longer lives, aging populations, and high levels of immigration, three-generation households will likely continue to increase in number, possibly at an

even faster rate. Increased longevity will result in more families with three or perhaps four generations living at the same time; older Canadians, particularly women, will likely spend more years in family roles such as grandparenthood. Many generations living together could have positive or negative implications for family life. On the one hand, it may generate new kinds of stresses on families' needs and obligations; on the other, it could signal inter-generational cohesion and family resilience.

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3. Information on multiple maintainers was not collected in 1986.

Search for success: Finding work after graduation

by Warren Clark

Postsecondary graduates may have different priorities when they start looking for that first job after graduation. The main intention of many is to find a job that helps pay off their student debt. In fact, most recent graduates say they entered their program to learn job skills and to make a good income. For some, the ideal situation might be well-paying part-time employment, which would allow them to balance the demands of work and family, or a job where they could be their own boss.

Previous research has revealed a strong relationship between field of study, students' expectations and employment outcomes. This article examines what recent graduates looked for in a job and what contributed to their success in finding that first job: special skills, job search methods, or field of study.

What's important in a job is high pay

Graduates have certain expectations of what they want in a job. For many who graduated in 1995, finding a job with high pay was the most important. On their list of criteria for selecting a job, 21% of college and 13% of bachelor's degree graduates rated high pay as number one. Job location ranked second, liking the work ranked third and having a job related to their field of study ranked fourth for both groups of graduates.

High pay and job security may be particularly important to graduates with high student loans. At the bachelor's level, those with large student loans (more than \$20,000) were more likely than graduates who did not borrow at all to consider a high-paying job as most important (18% versus 13%). College graduates, on the other hand, reported

1995 graduates were most successful finding full-time work and high level jobs

Two years after graduation	Class of 1982	Class of 1986	Class of 1990	Class of 1995
Working full-time				
			%	
College	77	82	76	70
Bachelor's	71	73	72	66
Working full-time in high level jobs¹				
College	51	54	56	47
Bachelor's	78	77	77	73

1. Six highest categories of the Pineo-Carroll-Moore socio-economic classification of occupations including self-employed and employed professionals, semi-professionals, technicians, and senior and middle managers.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

that a job with high pay was their most important criterion regardless of the extent of their student loan indebtedness at graduation.

People at different stages in their lives and careers seek different qualities in a job. Although high pay remained the most important characteristic of a job for graduates at all ages, graduates over age 40 placed less importance on pay than those in their early 20s. Job location was very important to both college and university graduates in all age groups, though women university graduates under 40 placed a higher importance on job location than those aged 40 and over. Married women, especially those with children, placed less importance on a high-paying job than men or single women. When people have children, family-friendly job characteristics become more significant, while the importance of other job qualities may decline. For example, job location was more important to married women with children under age 5 than it was for women without children, for women with older children or for men. And while women university graduates placed almost as much importance on liking their work as they did on job location, when they had young children, the priorities changed. With men university graduates, marriage seemed to change their view of the importance of liking their work.

Single university men judged liking their work to be as important as job location, while their married counterparts placed much less importance on it. However, for college graduates, the importance of liking the kind of work they did, did not vary in the same way.

Networking most effective in finding first job

Learning about a job opening through friends, relatives, co-workers or associates was the most successful way of finding a first job. Perhaps one reason for this is that acquaintances can share information about jobs and about who is hiring. In addition, they can provide direct referrals to employers or people who know more about jobs of interest. In a sense, networking expands the circle of people helping with the job search. In a small U.S. survey, for example, referrals from current employees were considered extremely important by employers.¹ It is therefore no surprise that nearly one-third

1. In a survey of 192 employers during the summer of 1997, 77% of employers considered referrals from current employees important or extremely important in finding new employees. Richard Fein. 1998. "Traditional or Electronic Tools: How Do People Get Hired?" *Journal of Career Planning and Employment* 58, 4: 40-43.



High pay was the most important job selection criterion for 1995 graduates

Criteria considered when selecting a job	College			Bachelor's		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
	(Importance score 0 to 3)					
High salary/pay	1.53	1.61	1.47	1.34	1.43	1.28
Job location	0.80	0.76	0.84	0.73	0.69	0.75
Like the kind of work	0.57	0.56	0.59	0.67	0.63	0.70
Job is in my field of study	0.45	0.47	0.44	0.52	0.45	0.56
Uses and develops my skills and abilities	0.32	0.30	0.34	0.44	0.39	0.48
Job security	0.28	0.33	0.24	0.17	0.20	0.14
Career advancement	0.27	0.36	0.21	0.37	0.45	0.32
Able to work with people	0.24	0.19	0.28	0.20	0.18	0.22
Feeling of accomplishment	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.32	0.34	0.31
Job allows flexibility	0.16	0.13	0.18	0.13	0.12	0.14
Well respected or prestigious occupation	0.10	0.11	0.09	0.07	0.08	0.07

Note: Graduates identified the three most important criteria they would consider when selecting a job. A value of 3 was assigned to criterion selected as the most important, a 2 for the second most important, a 1 for the third most important and a value of 0 for those criteria that were not in the top three. An importance score was calculated by averaging the values assigned across all graduates for each job selection criterion.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

During the summer of 1997, Statistics Canada, in partnership with Human Resources Development Canada, interviewed 43,000 people in the National Graduates Survey of 1995 Graduates (NGS). This sample represented more than 295,000 Canadians who had graduated from trade/vocational, college and university programs during 1995. Interviewers asked respondents about their education, training and labour market experiences during the two years immediately following graduation. They also asked graduates about how they found their first job after graduation, difficulties they may have had looking for a job, and what they considered important in a job.

The results presented in this article are for college graduates (graduates from publicly-funded community colleges, technical institutes, hospital schools of nursing and radiology, and similar institutions) and for graduates from bachelor's degree programs. Undergraduate certificates and diplomas, and first professional degrees (e.g., medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and law) are excluded from the bachelor's degree group. About 11,000 college and 11,500 bachelor's graduates were interviewed. The terms bachelor's and university are used interchangeably in the text to indicate graduates from bachelor's degree programs.

First post-graduation job: The first job graduates had after graduation. It includes jobs that may have started before graduation but continued after graduation.

Difficulty with job search tasks: Graduates indicated how difficult job-search activities for their first post-graduation job had been. On a four-point scale, responses ranged from no difficulty (0) to great difficulty (3).

of college (33%) and bachelor's (32%) graduates found their first job through friends or family.

Unsolicited calls or visits to employers helped one-sixth (17% of college and 18% of bachelor's) of graduates find their first job. A person using this method of finding work may have to make many unsuccessful calls or visits before finding a job. It needs high motivation and good interpersonal skills, but cold-calls made to the right person at the right time are likely to turn up jobs listed nowhere else.²

Many people start their job search by looking through want ads because it is easy to do and newspapers contain lists of specific openings that are frequently updated. However, the wide circulation of newspapers ensures much competition. Moreover, some sources say that over 80% of job openings are not advertised in newspapers.³ According to the 1997 NGS, only about one in seven (14%) graduates found their first job after graduation through newspaper ads.

Previous employers may be a valuable source of information about new jobs. About 10% of graduates found their first job through this method. Although campus placement offices are often valuable sources of career information, only about 9% of graduates found their first job using them. Even fewer (3% of college and 4% of bachelor's) found their first job with the help of public or private employment agencies and less than 1% via the Internet.⁴

Many graduates experienced trouble in their job search Searching for employment after graduation involves a lot of hard work for most new graduates. About one-quarter of college and bachelor's graduates had great difficulty finding a first job that paid enough, while one-third of bachelor's and one-quarter of college graduates had great difficulty finding one related to their field of study.⁵

One-sixth of graduates also had problems finding a job in the location of their choice. Newfoundland graduates had the most trouble, with 38% of college and 30% of bachelor's graduates experiencing great difficulty finding a job in the right location. In the other Atlantic provinces, about 24% of college and between 22% and 26% of bachelor's graduates had similar trouble. In contrast, only in Alberta and British Columbia did less than 15% of college and bachelor's graduates report great difficulty finding work in a place where they wanted to live.

Uncertainty about long-term goals can hamper a job search, and many university graduates — particularly in the humanities and social sciences — had trouble deciding what they wanted to do after graduation. Fourteen percent of bachelor's graduates reported having great difficulty making up their minds compared with 7% of college graduates. And the younger these graduates were, the higher their level of indecision.

The actual leg work involved in finding job openings was very difficult for about 7% of graduates. Although job interviews can be a problem for new job seekers, 51% of college and 45% of bachelor's graduates reported having no trouble in doing well during interviews for their first job. Most college (69%) and bachelor's (61%) graduates had no difficulty writing résumés and letters of introduction, or completing job applications.

Age played a role in the problems encountered in the job search. Generally older graduates (over age 30) had less difficulty finding job openings than younger graduates (under age 22). Graduates of all ages reported finding a job that paid enough among their most difficult tasks, but older bachelor's graduates found it easier than young bachelor's graduates. In contrast, college graduates of all ages reported the same degree of difficulty in finding a well-paying job.

Graduates in some fields had a much less difficult job search experience than others; the health professions, sciences and technologies field was one of these. Many health-related fields have restrictive entrance requirements with very limited numbers of spaces, thereby controlling the number of graduates entering the labour market. Bachelor's graduates from these fields had the least trouble of all university graduates deciding what they wanted to be, knowing how to find jobs, finding jobs related to their field of study and finding a job that paid enough. For them, finding a job in the desired location was the hardest task, although still less difficult than for other fields. College graduates from health-related fields enjoyed similar experiences but also had more difficulty than other college graduates finding a job where they wanted to live.

Previous work experience most useful in finding a job

In 1995, 17% of college and 7% of bachelor's graduates had completed their studies through a co-op program. About half of the college and two-thirds of the bachelor's co-op

graduates said that their co-op experience was helpful in finding a job after graduation. Even more graduates indicated that previous work experience had been helpful. Although over 80% of graduates had participated in career counselling or job search courses, only about 18% of college and 13% of university participants found them useful in finding a job.

Bachelor's graduates had more difficulty deciding what to do after graduation than college graduates

Volunteering helps some find employment

Some graduates found their way into the paid workforce through volunteer activities. During the two years after graduation (1995 to 1997), about 54% of bachelor's and 39% of college graduates had done volunteer work, although women were more likely to do so than men. Over half of the volunteers reported that their volunteer activities were related to their field of study. About 39% of both college and bachelor's volunteers felt their activities had helped a great deal in developing positive work attitudes and about one third indicated they had helped greatly in developing work skills. About 13% of college and 18% of bachelor's volunteers indicated that these activities were a great help in finding a job. However, volunteers were less likely to be working full-time in June 1997 than those who did not volunteer; perhaps some graduates hoped to obtain work experience through volunteering if their employment prospects were not promising.

CST

Over one in four graduates reported great difficulty in finding a well-paying job

	College	Bachelor's
	%	
Finding a job that paid enough	28	27
Finding a job related to my field of study	25	33
Finding a job where I wanted to live	17	16
Knowing how to find job openings	7	8
Deciding what I wanted to be	7	14
Performing well in job interviews	2	2
Completing job applications, writing résumés or letters of introduction	1	1

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

- Wagner, Judith O. 1992. "Job Search Methods." *ERIC Digest No. 121*, ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education. Columbus.
- Student Employment Network. 1999. *The 1999 Canada Student Employment Guide*. Toronto, p.31.
- Although the Internet now provides numerous resources to post job openings and résumés, it was still in its infancy when 1995 graduates were seeking their first jobs.
- Bachelor's graduates from the humanities and related fields, social sciences, agriculture and biological sciences and technologies had the greatest difficulty in finding a job related to their education.

The first post-graduation job

By the time the class of 1995 was interviewed in June 1997, 95% had found their first post-graduation job. On average they had held 2.1 jobs between graduation and June 1997, but one in sixteen had held five or more jobs. Young workers typically show their quest for a good career with frequent job moves, while more experienced graduates move less often.⁶ Graduates aged 20 or 21 went through 2.3 jobs on average; 7% had had five or more jobs. Meanwhile those aged 40 and over had had about 1.5 jobs, with only 2% reporting five or more jobs in the previous two years.

Graduates who accepted their first job because it was the only one they could find tended to stay in that job for a period averaging 21 or 22 months. In contrast, first jobs selected for other reasons (better pay, more opportunities for advancement, curiosity about the work) lasted an average of 31 or 32 months.

Some graduates began their first post-graduation job long before they graduated, and in some cases before they began their program: 6% of college and 8% of bachelor's graduates had been working at their first post-graduation job for five or more years before they graduated. About one-third of bachelor's graduates in this group were over age 30 working full-time in professional, semi-professional, senior or middle

management, or technician jobs while pursuing part-time studies. Another 39% were under age 30 working as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers. About 29% of college graduates who started five years or more before graduation were in high level jobs.

Other graduates started working while they were at university or college. Among graduates with jobs that began one to four years before graduation (early starters), over half were in clerical, sales and service occupations: in other words, the type of part-time jobs that many students use to

help finance their education. In contrast, graduates starting their first post-graduation job after graduating were more likely to be in professional or technical jobs. Early starters were more likely to stay in the same job than gradu-

ates who started to work after graduation. In fact, more than 70% of early starters had the same job one year after graduation, but only 47% of bachelor's and 52% of college graduates who had started their first job within three months of graduation were still in that job 12 months later.

Summary

Many colleges and universities now offer job search seminars and workshops to help students find employment. These activities seem to have paid off in that the class of

Graduates who accepted their first job because it was the only one they could find stayed in that job an average of 21 or 22 months

CST

Over half of 1995 graduates began their first job within three months of graduation

	College				Bachelor's		
	Total	Men	Women		Total	Men	Women
First post-graduation job began...				%			
5 or more years before graduation	6	5	6		8	6	9
1 to 4 years before graduation	12	11	13		13	12	13
Less than 1 year before graduation	9	9	9		9	10	9
Less than 3 months after graduation	32	33	31		27	29	26
3 to 5 months after graduation	11	11	11		14	14	14
6 to 11 months after graduation	10	10	10		9	9	9
12 to 23 months after graduation	12	14	11		13	13	13
2 or more years after graduation	3	3	3		3	3	3
No job yet as of June 1997	6	5	6		5	5	6

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Survey, 1997.

1995 had little difficulty filling out job applications, writing résumés and letters of introduction. But few found their first job with the help of career counselling; in fact, networking with friends, family members and acquaintances remains the most successful method of finding a first post-graduation job. For graduates in both college and university, high pay was the single most important criterion for choosing a job. Many found a first job in a professional or technical occupation, but turnover was high. Those who had started their first job back in the days when they were still in school were least likely to leave it, while more recent job starters were more keen to switch. Both college and bachelor's graduates experienced the greatest difficulty in finding work that paid enough.

6. Lankard Brown, Bettina. 1998. *Career Mobility: A Choice or Necessity?* *ERIC Digest No. 191*, ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education.



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Over one in ten children now have asthma

In 1978/79, less than 3% of children under age 15, or about 141,000, were reported to have asthma. By 1994/95, the proportion had risen to 11%, or about 672,000 children. Asthma is more common among boys than girls. In 1978/79, just over 3% of boys under 15 had asthma compared with under 2% of girls; in 1994/95, asthma was reported for 13% of boys and 9% of girls. Children in both lower- and higher-income households had a significantly higher prevalence of asthma than those in middle-income households, although children in lower-income households were most likely to have had a recent attack. Asthma is one of the most common causes of hospitalization among children; in 1994/95, over 4,300 out of every 100,000 children diagnosed with asthma had spent some time in hospital because of the disease.

Health Reports
Winter 1998, Vol. 10, no. 3
Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB or
Internet product 82-003-XIE



Charitable donations up even though donors down

For most of the 1990s, the number of taxfilers reporting charitable donations and the value of their donations have remained fairly stable, at around 5.4 million donors and \$3.5 billion. But in 1997, fewer

than 5.3 million taxfilers reported charitable deductions of \$4.3 billion on their 1997 personal income tax returns. The 3% decline in the number of donors was the largest this decade, while the 6% increase in donations was the second highest. Part of the increase in donations in 1997 could be due to the new, higher maximum deduction limit (75% of net income, up from 50%) allowed by Revenue Canada as of the 1997 tax year. The median charitable donation in Canada was \$170. The highest median provincial donation was \$270 (Newfoundland) and the lowest was \$100 (Quebec).

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Hours of television viewing still declining

In the last decade, there has been a small but steady decline in the number of hours Canadians spend watching television, from 23.5 hours each week in 1988 to 22.7 hours in 1997. The only exception to this trend was in 1995, when new specialty cable services were introduced, and viewing hours rose by about half an hour before resuming their decline. Viewing habits are also different between linguistic groups: in 1997, francophones spent more than 66% of their viewing time watching Canadian programs, compared with only 30% of anglophone viewers. Francophones were more likely to watch news and public affairs programs (29% versus 22% of

anglophones) and variety and game shows (15% and 9%). Anglophones were more likely to watch comedy (14% versus 9%) and sports (9% and 6%). Both francophones and anglophones spent under one-third of their viewing time (30%) watching dramas.

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Direct sales approach losing steam

In 1997, Canadians bought \$3.4 billion worth of goods from direct sellers, up a marginal 0.3% from 1996. By contrast, in-store retail sales (excluding the auto sector) increased almost 6%. The value of personal sales, such as group demonstrations at house parties, increased 3% in 1997, while sales by mail or telephone declined almost 1%. The biggest sales increases were recorded for newspapers (7%) and cosmetics (6%), while sales declined for books and encyclopedias (-7%) and audio tapes, compact discs and equipment (-9%).

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Cases in adult criminal court decline slightly

In 1997/98, adult criminal courts in nine reporting jurisdictions (about 80% of the national caseload) handled

over 411,500 cases, over a 1% drop from the previous year. Almost two-thirds (63%) of the accused who appeared were between the ages of 18 and 34, although this age group makes up only one-third (33%) of the adult population overall. The most common offence dealt with was impaired driving (15% of all offences), followed by common assault (12%). Convictions for at least one charge in each case were secured for 6 out of every 10 cases. Convictions jumped to 76% for cases involving Criminal Code traffic offences.

Juristat
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Internet product 85-002-XIE



Spending almost the same in 1997 as previous year

The average household spent an estimated \$49,950 in 1997, virtually unchanged from 1996. Personal income taxes still made up the largest share of household spending, at 21 cents of every dollar. The next highest expenses were shelter (20 cents), transportation (12 cents) and food (11 cents). On average, the one-fifth (quintile) of households with the lowest incomes spent \$16,700, compared with \$97,930 for the quintile with the highest incomes. After adjusting for differences in household size, the average expenditure per person was \$10,250 in the lowest income quintile and \$28,800 in the highest quintile.

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Youth and Crime

by Kathryn Stevenson, Jennifer Tufts, Dianne Hendrick and Melanie Kowalski

It is what every parent dreads. The phone rings. It's the police. They ask you to collect your child, who has just been charged with a criminal offence. Fortunately, very few parents receive such a phone call: contrary to popular belief, youth crime is neither widespread, nor is it rising. Just the opposite, in fact. In 1997 less than 5% of young Canadians aged 12 to 17 (approximately 121,000 youths) were charged with a federal statute offence. And the rate of youths charged has been declining steadily since 1991.

Nonetheless, some young people do get into trouble with the law. What happens in the life of a child that leads to criminal activity? Although experts disagree about motivations for crime and delinquency, most would agree that the risk of becoming involved in antisocial behaviour varies with both personality and social conditions. The first part of this article examines young offenders and their crimes; the second explores current theories about the causes of youth crime in the context of Canada's social and economic landscape.

Theft most common charge

Young people are most commonly charged with theft. In 1997 nearly half of youths charged (49%) were involved in property crime,¹ most often theft, and break and enter. Violent offences,² including assault and robbery, were much less frequent, accounting for about 18% of young people charged, while "other" Criminal Code and "other" federal statute offences made up the remainder of charges. In comparison, in 1987 a larger proportion of youths were charged with property crimes (67%) and a smaller proportion with violent crimes (9%) and all other offences.

The total number of criminal charges against youths increased between 1987 and 1991, peaked in that year and

then began to decline. By 1997 the rate was virtually the same as it was in 1987. In contrast, the violent crime rate for youths doubled (102%) over the decade. Some experts, however, question whether these figures indicate a real rise in violent crime or simply changing attitudes, resulting in an increase in the reporting of crime, particularly common

GST What you should know about this study

Most of the data in this article come from the Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCR) and the Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCRII). In operation since 1962, the UCR is a nationally representative survey that records the number of criminal incidents reported to police. It collects information on the number of persons charged by sex and by an adult/youth breakdown. Incidents that involve more than one infraction are recorded under the most serious violation. As a result, less serious offences are undercounted.

The Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey (UCRII) was developed in 1984 (and has since been conducted concurrently with the UCR) to provide detailed information on criminal incidents. Information collected by the UCRII includes the age and sex of the accused and the victim, the relationship of the victim to the accused, injuries sustained during a violent incident, location of the incident, and the presence of a weapon. The 1997 data, collected from 179 police departments in six provinces (New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia), represented about 48% of the national volume of crime. These data are not nationally representative.

1. Property offences consist of unlawful acts to gain property, but do not involve the use or threat of violence against a person.

2. Violent offences involve the use of, or threatened use of, violence against a person.

assault.³ For example, more aggressive “zero tolerance” strategies have meant that students involved in a schoolyard fight, who would previously have been disciplined by the school principal, are now more likely to be dealt with by the police and to become “justice statistics.”

Common assault, major assault and robbery constitute the majority of violent crimes, with common assault being by far the most frequent. On the other hand, the number of youths charged with homicide (54 youths in 1997)

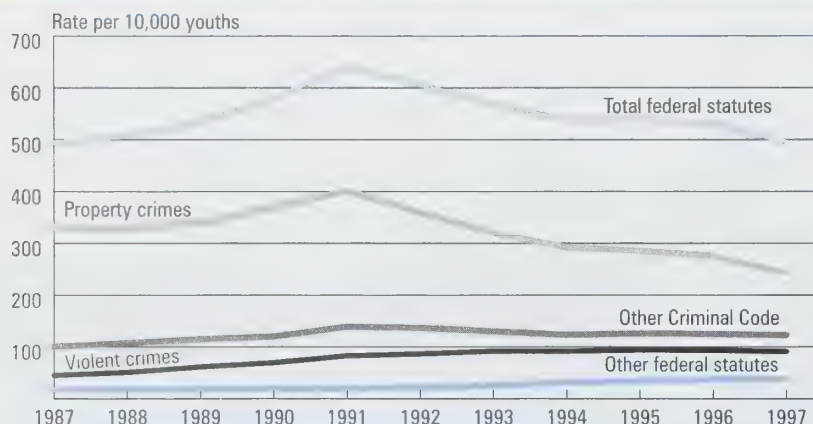
represents a very small proportion of young people charged with a criminal offence (about 2 in 100,000). Over the last 10 years, the actual number of youths charged with homicide fluctuated considerably and ranged from a low of 36 in 1987 to a high of 68 in 1995.

16- to 17-year-old boys are most likely to be charged

According to police data, the peak age for involvement in criminal activity differs for boys and girls. Girls aged 14 to 15 are most likely to be charged, while boys accused of crimes tend to be 16 to 17 years old. But while criminal activity continues as boys age, among girls it begins to decline at around 16 years.

The majority of young people involved in crime are boys (78% in 1997), although the gap between the sexes has been narrowing over the past decade (in 1987, 84% of youths charged were boys). Compared with 10 years before, the total charge rate in 1997 was 7% lower for boys and 38% higher for

CS1 In 1997, the total crime rate for youths has declined

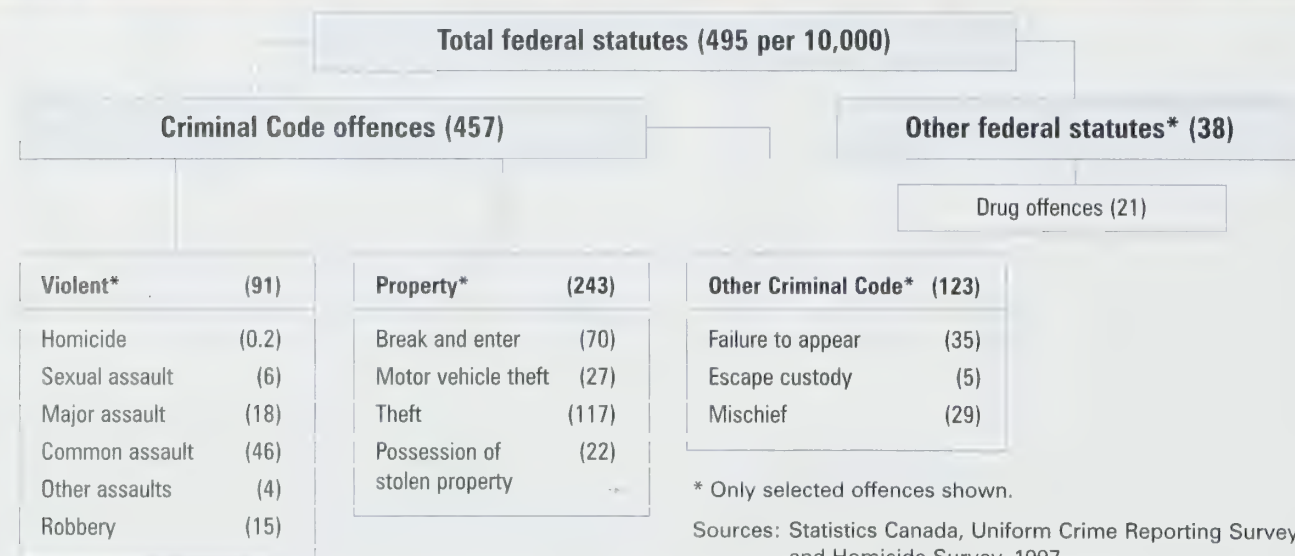


Note: The rate of youths charged includes only those 12- to 17-year-olds who have been apprehended and charged by police. The police-reported crime rate may be affected by changes in the law, policing practices, community attitudes, the public's willingness to report crimes, and the use of alternative measures (actions other than judicial proceedings used to deal with a young person alleged to have committed an offence).

Sources: Statistics Canada, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and Homicide Survey, 1997.

3. Common assault is the least serious form of assault and includes pushing, slapping, punching, and face-to-face verbal threats. In contrast, major assault involves carrying, using or threatening to use a weapon against someone or causing bodily harm, or in the most serious case, maiming, disfiguring or endangering the life of a person.

CS2 Youth crime rate per 10,000 youths for types of federal crimes



* Only selected offences shown.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Uniform Crime Reporting Survey and Homicide Survey, 1997.

girls. In the area of violent crime, the rates increased for both boys and girls, but much faster for girls: 85% versus 179% over the past decade. However, in 1997 the actual rate of girls charged with violent crime (47 per 10,000) was still substantially lower than that for boys (133 per 10,000).

Boys and girls tend to be involved in similar types of offences. The three most common crimes for young men were theft under \$5,000, break and enter, and common assault. Young women were also most often charged with theft under \$5,000, followed by common assault, and failure to appear in court.

Repeat offenders account for over 4 in 10 youth court cases

In 1996-97, over 40% of cases dealt with by youth courts involved repeat offenders (youths with prior convictions)

of whom 21% had one prior conviction, 10% had two and 11% had three or more. A previous study on recidivism, conducted in 1993-94, yielded very similar results, implying that repeat offenders represent a substantial proportion of youths involved with the justice system. This situation has not changed substantially over the past few years.

Like first-time offenders, repeat offenders are brought to court most often for property offences (59%). In terms of specific offences, however, repeat offenders are more likely to be involved in more serious infractions. For example, possession of stolen property represented 17% of all property offences for repeat offenders and 12% for first-time offenders. In contrast, the less serious crime of theft under \$5,000 accounted for 31% of all property offences for repeat offenders and 35% for first-time offenders. The same patterns held true for violent offences.

CST Victims of youth violence are usually other young people

When youths commit a violent act, other youths — young men in particular — are their most likely victims. In 1997, more than half (56%) of all victims of youth violence were other youths, 34% were adults while the remaining 10% were children under 12 years. Some 62% of victims were male; boys aged 12 to 17 accounted for 36% of all victims.

Most victims of youth violence know their assailant. Police data from 1997 show that 74% of victims knew the perpetrator in some way. For the majority (57%) of victims, the accused was an acquaintance, for 13% the accused was a family member, and for 4% of victims the accused was a close friend. Common assault was the crime most frequently perpetrated against both male and female victims. However, major assault and robbery were the second and third most common violent crimes against male victims, while females tended to be victims of sexual assault and major assault.

The vast majority of victims of violent youth crime do not sustain serious physical injuries. In 1997, 49% of victims reported that no injuries resulted from the incident and about 47% suffered minor injuries that did not require medical attention. Some 5% of victims experienced major injuries (medical attention was required), while 0.1% died.

Most youth violence occurs in a public place, such as a parking lot or public transportation. In 1997, 35% of victims were assaulted in a public place, 26% in private homes, 22% in schools, and 17% in commercial places and public institutions. The location of youth violence varied depending on the type of offence. Homes tended to be the predominant setting for sexual assaults and homicides, while public areas were most often the sites for robbery, major assaults and common assaults.

Offence	Victims		
	Total	Female %	Male
Common assault	53	57	51
Major assault	18	13	21
Robbery	14	8	17
Sexual assault	8	16	3
Homicide	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other*	7	6	8

Note: Excludes 21 victims (0.2%) whose sex was unknown.

* Includes all other violent offences.

Source: Statistics Canada, Revised Uniform Crime Reporting Survey, 1997.

Repeat offenders are also more likely to be charged with multiple offences. Youths facing multiple charges per case are assumed to be more criminally active than those having only one charge per case. In 1996-97, half of first-time offenders were charged with multiple charges compared with 62% of offenders with one prior conviction, 69% with two and 72% with three or more prior convictions. Young men were more likely than young women to be repeat offenders: 43% versus 32%.

Both personality and society play a part in youth crime

Most experts agree that the risk of becoming involved in criminal activities is influenced by personal as well as social factors. Biological or genetic predisposition, alcoholism and drug abuse, mental illness, family structure, low income, dropping out of school, and unemployment are just a few of the factors that have been linked to young people's involvement in crime. In a recent public opinion survey, the majority of respondents felt that poor parenting and broken homes were the most important factors contributing to involvement in crime, followed by illegal drugs, a lenient justice system, poverty, low moral standards, unemployment, violence on television and lack of discipline in schools.⁴

Economic disadvantage, coupled with difficult family circumstances, is a common explanation for delinquency. Children living in low-income households can be affected by low-quality housing and transient, run-down neighbourhoods. Parental frustration may lead to substance abuse and violence in the home,⁵ which in turn may place children at risk of becoming involved with a delinquent peer group and potentially criminal activity. Indeed, according to the

National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), children in low-income households are at risk of indirect and physically aggressive behaviour that may persist from early childhood through adolescence.⁶

In 1996, more than 20% of children under 18 (1.5 million) lived in a low-income family. At the same time, some 17% of children were cared for by a lone parent. As many lone-parent families are economically disadvantaged, children growing up in these households may be especially vulnerable. NLSCY findings suggest that children from lone-parent families are at greater risk of emotional, behavioural, academic and social problems than children from two-parent families.⁷ However, data from this source also indicate that good parenting practices act to counter the impact of low income and negative peer pressure.⁸

Social bonds may help to prevent criminal behaviour

Delinquency is often explained by the absence of strong bonds to society. People who are "bonded" tend to have strong attachments to others who conform to society's goals and who participate in conventional work, education and leisure activities. A young person's ties to parents, teachers, community leaders and conforming peers are important sources of informal control that can help monitor leisure time and discourage criminal behaviour.⁹

4. Environics Research Group. 1998. *Focus Canada Environics 1998-1*. Ottawa: Environics.

5. Trocme, N. D. McPhee, K. Kwan Tam and T. Hay. 1994. *Ontario Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect*. Toronto: Institute for the Prevention of Child Abuse. Also Thompson, R.A. 1994. "Social Support and the Prevention of Child Maltreatment," *Protecting Children from Abuse and Neglect: Foundations for a New National Strategy*. G.B. Meltion and F.D. Barry. (eds.) New York: Guilford.

6. Tremblay, Richard E., et al. 1996. "Do Children in Canada Become More Aggressive as They Approach Adolescence?" *Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada (Catalogue no. 89-550-MPE, no.1).

7. *ibid.*

8. Landy, Sarah and Kwok Kwan Tam. 1996. "Yes, Parenting Does Make a Difference to the Development of Children in Canada." *Growing up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada. (Catalogue no. 89-550-MPE, no.1).

9. Sacco, V. and L. Kennedy. 1994. *The Criminal Event*. Scarborough: Nelson Canada. p. 64.



Multiple charges were most common among repeat offenders



Note: Excludes Nova Scotia data, Young Offenders Act and post-disposition offences.
Source: Statistics Canada, Youth Court Survey, 1996-97.

In the absence of social bonds, and with exposure to norms and beliefs that support law-breaking, criminal behaviour may be quick to surface. Within certain gangs, for example, violence and other criminal behaviour are not only acceptable, but also expected. Additionally, violent behaviour can also be learned through mainstream society (for example, through easy access and widespread exposure to violence on television, movies and video games) as a response to frustration or a technique for achieving goals.¹⁰

Dropping out of school linked to youth crime

Lack of attachment to school may be associated with youth crime. Students who leave school before graduating do so for many reasons, including boredom, the perception that school rules are too strict, associations with non-student friends who place little value on education and, in the case of many teenage girls, pregnancy. According to the 1991 School Leavers Survey (SLS), approximately 184,000 or 16% of all 18- to 20-year-olds had left school before graduating; as of 1995, the vast majority (160,000) had not returned. Almost 40% of school leavers were under 17 years when they left and 32% had no more than a grade nine education. The rate of leaving school was considerably higher for men (18%) than for women (10%).

Youths who leave school are more likely to become involved in other high-risk behaviour associated with crime. For example, according to results from the SLS, regular consumption of alcohol was more common among school leavers than graduates (18% versus 11%) as was use of soft and prescription drugs (30% versus 16%).¹¹ School leavers also experience higher rates of unemployment than graduates. In 1997, unemployment rates for youths without a high school diploma were almost two times higher than the corresponding rates for high school graduates and three times higher than those of university graduates.

Higher jobless rates may contribute to crime

Unemployment may lead to criminal activity when youths have no legitimate means of earning money. Being unemployed also reduces formal involvement in community life and can lead to an abundance of unstructured time, which in turn increases the risk of becoming involved in deviant or criminal activity.

In the early 1990s, it became increasingly difficult for young Canadians to find employment. Many adult workers

are hanging on to entry-level positions that have generally been available for youths. Furthermore, without job security or seniority, youths are primary targets for lay-offs during corporate restructuring. At around 22% in 1997, the unemployment rate for 15- to 19-year-olds was more than double that of the overall population. Summer jobs are also difficult to find, which, in turn, can affect job prospects after graduation. The percentage of 15- to 19-year-olds without job experience has more than doubled over the past decade, to 40% in 1997.

Summary

The risk of becoming involved in criminal activities has been associated with living in a lone-parent family, lacking adequate social bonds, belonging to a gang, dropping out of school and being unemployed. Other factors, which are much more complicated to measure, such as physical and sexual abuse, television violence and poor parenting, may also increase the chances of becoming involved in crime. In many cases, by the time youths become involved in the criminal justice system, they have already exhibited warning signs.

However, the proportion of youths charged with a crime has been declining for the past six years. In 1997, among those involved in crime, most were charged with theft under \$5,000. Although the gap in crime rates between the sexes has fallen over the past decade, the majority of young people charged continue to be 16- to 17-year-old males.

- This article was adapted from *A Profile of Youth Justice in Canada*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 85-544-XPE.



Kathryn Stevenson, Jennifer Tufts, Dianne Hendrick and Melanie Kowalski are analysts with the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada.

10. Reiss, A. and J. Roth (eds.). 1993. *Understanding and Preventing Violence*. Washington D.C.: National Academy Press.

11. See also Galambos, Nancy L. and Lauree C. Tilton-Weaver. 1998. "Multiple-Risk Behaviour in Adolescents and Young Adults." *Health Reports* 10, 2:9-20. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB.



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Who has a third child?

by **Alain Bélanger and Cathy Oikawa**

The size of the average Canadian family has shrunk rapidly since the 1960s. The two-child family is more and more the norm, and large families now make up only a small share of all families. A good deal of the decline in fertility is due to the decrease in what demographers call "higher order fertility rates." In essence, the majority of women continue to have two children, but fewer and fewer are having three or more; in 1991, for example, over half of women aged 60 to 64 but only one-quarter of women aged 35 to 39 had three or more children.¹

Nevertheless, the third child continues to have an appreciable impact on Canada's population growth; in fact, third births account for about 15% of the total fertility rate in a given year. In a time of declining fertility, it is worthwhile to examine the factors affecting the likelihood that a woman will have three children.

Researchers have long identified a number of factors that can affect fertility. This study uses data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS) to assess the effect of these factors on the

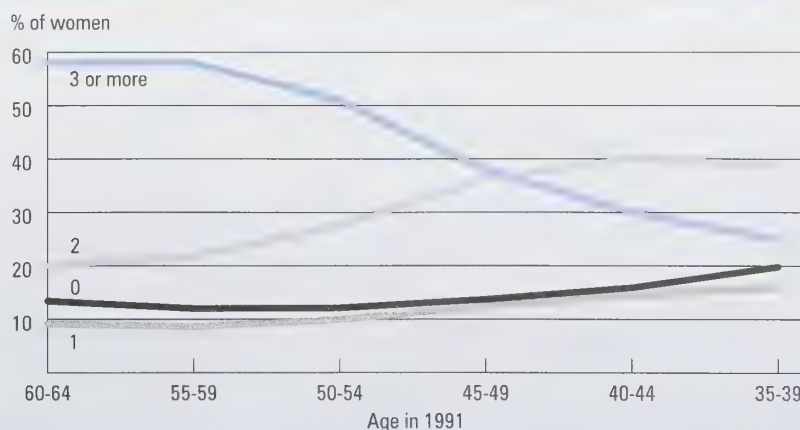
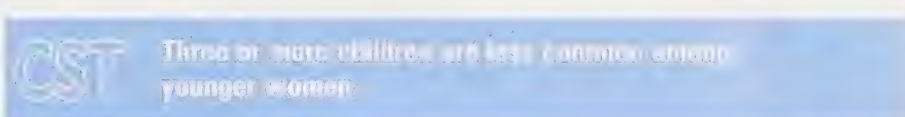
likelihood that a woman with two children will have a third.

Previous fertility history key deciding factor

Economists have argued that women who have been in the labour market tend to have fewer children than women who have not worked for pay, and that highly educated women tend to have fewer children than women with less schooling. Sociologists have focused on cultural characteristics such as attendance at religious services, country of birth and number of siblings. Demographers, on the other hand, have emphasised the timing of life-cycle events and have focused on

marital status, the mother's age and the interval between births.

Analysis of 1995 GSS data indicate the two strongest predictors of the probability that a woman will have a third child are her age at the birth of her first child and the length of time between the first and second births. When the effects of other variables in the analysis are taken into account, women who had their first child before they were 25 are 2.5 times more likely to have a third baby than those whose first child was born when they were over 30. And women who waited a long time between their first and second children (over 53 months) were only one-third as likely to have a



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Population.

1. At the time of the 1991 Census, the fertile period of women aged 35 to 39 was incomplete. However, fertility rates in Canada are very low after age 39, at less than 6 births per 1,000 women aged 40 to 44 and virtually zero for those aged 45 to 49.

third child as women who had their second child fairly quickly (less than 30 months between births).

The mother's year of birth is also an important predictive factor. The probability of a third birth is 76% higher for women born before 1945 than for women born after 1965, even after controlling for all other variables included in the analysis. On the other hand, the probability of having a

third child is no different for women born during the baby boom (1945 to 1964) than for women born during the baby bust (after 1965).

Marital status has a weaker effect than other demographic factors. Being in a common-law union rather than a legal marriage does not significantly reduce the likelihood of bearing a third child, all other things being equal. However, the probability of having a

third child is over one-third lower for women who are not in a union than for women who are.

Labour force participation reduces likelihood of third baby

The effect of employment status on a third birth is substantial. Compared with other women, mothers who returned to the workforce after giving birth to their second child were about one-third less likely to have another baby. Higher education has about the same dampening effect on third-order fertility as employment experience. Women without high school are one-third more likely than those with high school or more to have a third child. Interestingly, the difference between women with secondary as opposed to postsecondary completion is not statistically significant.

These results support researchers who argue that declining fertility stems from women's rising level of education and increasing labour market participation. At the same time, women's greater economic independence has increased the costs of motherhood, both directly (daycare, child's education) and indirectly (loss of income, setbacks or delays in career advancement). These costs mount with every birth.

Religion plays a role in higher-order fertility

Several cultural variables are also valuable predictors of the probability of a third birth. The most important is attendance at religious services, with women who attend every week being about 50% more likely than other women to have a third child. Since the effects of other variables strongly associated with religious attendance are controlled for (age of mother, fertility history and marital status), it seems that religiosity affects fertility in ways that are not captured by this analysis.²

The woman's country of birth also plays an important role. Studies based

GST What you should know about this study

This article draws on data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS). The 1995 GSS interviewed nearly 11,000 respondents aged 15 years and over living in private households in the ten provinces. The data collected included information about respondents' fertility history, such as the number of children each woman had, the date of birth of each child, the woman's marital history (including common-law unions), and the dates they started and stopped working.

Using this information, a sample of almost 2,600 women who had given birth to at least two children was selected. A technique called "event history analysis" was then applied to the data in order to estimate the relationship between various characteristics and the probability of having a third child.

"Event history analysis" combines two tools — life tables and regression analysis — to measure the net effect of different factors on an individual's probability (or risk) of experiencing an event. In this article, event history analysis is used to estimate the likelihood that Canadian women who already have two children will give birth to a third child, given certain demographic, cultural and socio-economic characteristics. The results show the net effect of a given factor after other factors included in the analysis have been neutralised.¹

The results are presented in a table showing the risk ratios for a number of characteristics. Each variable uses a reference group as a benchmark; by definition, the risk ratio for this reference group is equal to 1.0. A ratio greater than 1.0 for the comparison group means that the factor being examined has a positive effect on a woman's probability of having a third child; a ratio of less than 1.0 indicates the factor's effect is negative, compared with the reference group. A ratio of 1.0 means that, compared with the reference group, the factor has no influence.

1. The characteristics selected for the model are assumed to be the only ones that affect third-order fertility.

ERRATA

Statistics Canada, catalogue no. 11-008-XPE

Canadian Social Trends, Summer 1999

See table entitled "Previous fertility history is the strongest predictor a woman will have a third child," page 25.

For the variable "marital status," the category "not in union" is marked as not statistically significant. In fact, the category that is not statistically significant is "common-law union."

Previous fertility history is the strongest predictor a woman will have a third child

Year of birth	
Before 1945	1.76
1945 to 1954	1.06*
1955 to 1964	1.07*
After 1965	1.00
Age at birth of first child	
Under 25	2.53
25 to 29	1.60
30 or over	1.00
Interval between first two births	
Less than 30 months	1.00
30 to 53 months	0.66
More than 53 months	0.31
Marital status	
Not in union	0.63
Common-law union	1.05*
Married	1.00
Employment status after second birth	
Working	0.65
Not working	1.00
Education	
No secondary completion	1.31
Secondary completion	1.00
Postsecondary completion	1.02*
Province of residence	
High fertility rate ¹	1.17
Average fertility rate	1.00
Religious attendance	
Weekly	1.46
Other	1.00
Number of siblings	
None	0.96*
One	1.00
More than one	1.11*
Place of birth	
Canada	1.00
Europe and North America	0.80
Other countries	1.48

Note: Reference group (1.0) shown in italics.

* Not statistically significant.

1. Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

on vital statistics have shown that Canadian-born women have a higher fertility rate than women who immigrated many years ago, but a lower rate than more recent immigrants.³ This difference is probably due to a shift in immigrants' countries of origin. The majority of women who immigrated before the 1980s came from Europe, where fertility declined earlier than it did in Canada. In contrast, the majority of more recent immigrants came from developing countries, where fertility is generally higher. Even when controlling for variables that might explain some of these differences (education, fertility history and religious service attendance), the analysis shows that the mother's place of birth still has a significant effect on the likelihood she will have a third child. Compared with Canadian-born women, the probability of bearing a third child is 20% lower for women born in Europe and the United States, while it is 50% higher for women born in other parts of the world.

The data show that something of the same pattern exists within Canada itself. In Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta — provinces whose total fertility rates have long been slightly above the national average — the probability of having a third child is 17% higher than in other provinces.

On the other hand, having siblings does not increase a woman's chances of giving birth to more than two children. Some analysis has indicated that there is an association between having brothers and sisters and having a third child, perhaps because people develop their sense of appropriate family size



Previous fertility history is the strongest predictor a woman will have a third child

Year of birth

Before 1945	1.76
1945 to 1954	1.06*
1955 to 1964	1.07*
<i>After 1965</i>	<i>1.00</i>

Age at birth of first child

Under 25	2.53
25 to 29	1.60
<i>30 or over</i>	<i>1.00</i>

Interval between first two births

<i>Less than 30 months</i>	<i>1.00</i>
30 to 53 months	0.66
More than 53 months	0.31

Marital status

Not in union	0.63*
Common-law union	1.05
<i>Married</i>	<i>1.00</i>

Employment status after second birth

Working	0.65
<i>Not working</i>	<i>1.00</i>

Education

No secondary completion	1.31
<i>Secondary completion</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Postsecondary completion	1.02*

Province of residence

High fertility rate ¹	1.17
<i>Average fertility rate</i>	<i>1.00</i>

Religious attendance

Weekly	1.46
<i>Other</i>	<i>1.00</i>

Number of siblings

None	0.96*
<i>One</i>	<i>1.00</i>
More than one	1.11*

Place of birth

<i>Canada</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Europe and North America	0.80
Other countries	1.48

Note: Reference group (1.0) shown in italics.

* Not statistically significant.

1. Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1995 General Social Survey.

2. Canadian adults who regularly attend religious services place greater importance on having children than those who do not. Clark, W. "Religious observance, marriage and family," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1998.

3. See, for example, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1994*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE.

from the family they grew up in. However, the GSS data indicate that this relationship is not significant when the effects of the other variables are accounted for.

Summary

GSS data indicate that women's fertility history is the most important predictor of higher-order fertility. Women who were young when they had their first child, and who had a second child quickly afterwards, have the greatest chance of bearing a third child. It is also true, however, that certain cultural and socio-economic characteristics have a substantial effect on the probability of a third birth. Regular attendance at religious services tends to increase the probability, while the effect of the mother's place of birth differs depending on country of origin. Without doubt, labour market participation reduces the probability of having a third child. Employed women are much less likely to bear a third child than women who are not in the labour market, even when their fertility history and other variables have been controlled for. This suggests that measures to reduce the direct and indirect costs borne by families, such as day-care subsidies or flexible working hours, might have a positive effect on the fertility of Canadian women.

• This article is adapted from *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1997*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 91-209-XPE.

Alain Bélanger is a senior analyst with Demography Division and **Cathy Oikawa** is an analyst with Special Surveys Division, Statistics Canada.

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Melanoma

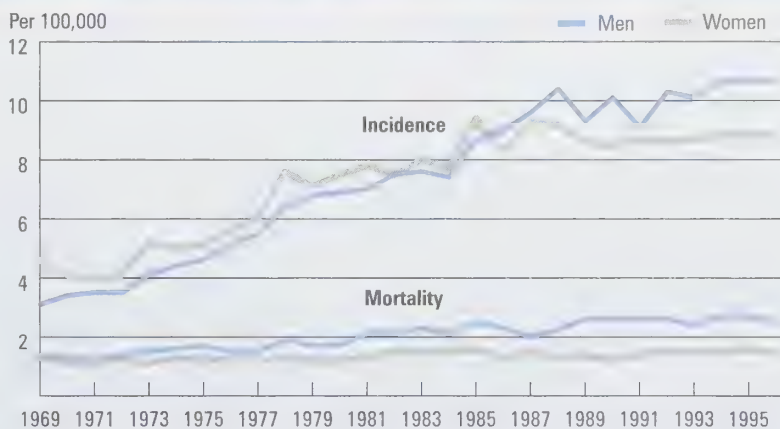
by **Leslie A. Gaudette and Ru-Nie Gao**

Cancer is one of the leading causes of death in Canada, second only to cardiovascular disease. In 1998, an estimated 62,700 Canadians died from the various forms of this disease. One of the most rapidly increasing forms of cancer is melanoma, the most serious type of skin cancer. An estimated 3,150 new cases of melanoma were diagnosed in 1998, representing just over 2% of all new cancer cases; a total of 740 people died from melanoma, accounting for 1% of all cancer deaths. Since exposure to ultraviolet light is a major factor related to melanoma, there is concern that incidence rates may continue to rise due to the predicted depletion of the Earth's protective ozone layer, which filters the harmful UV radiation emitted by the sun.

However, after rising during the 1970s and 1980s, the incidence of melanoma has leveled off in recent years. Among men, the rate has been relatively flat since the late 1980s,

while among women, it has actually declined slightly since the mid-1980s. In fact, the incidence rate is now about 10% higher for men than for women. This contrasts with much

CST Incidence rates for melanoma have levelled off in recent years.



Note: Rates are age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.
Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, Canadian Cancer Registry, Canadian Vital Statistics Data Base.

CST What is melanoma?

Melanoma is a cancer of the cells that colour the skin (melanocytes) and can occur in other organs of the body. It is by far the most serious type of skin cancer compared to the more common forms that occur in the basal and squamous cells of the epidermis. According to the Canadian Cancer Society, warning signs of melanoma include changes in the size, shape or colour of a mole; a sore that does not heal; or patches of skin that bleed, ooze, swell, itch or become red or bumpy. Once considered a near-

lethal disease, survival rates for melanoma five years after diagnosis are now relatively high: 88% for women and 74% for men.

To reduce the risk of skin cancer, the Canadian Cancer Society recommends reducing sun exposure between 11:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m.; seeking shade; wearing clothing that covers arms, legs and trunk; and wearing a sun hat, sunglasses and sunscreen. It also advises keeping young babies under a year old out of the sun.

	Incidence rate		Mortality rate	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per 100,000			
Canada	9.8	8.7	2.5	1.4
Newfoundland	4.9	7.0	1.0	0.4
Prince Edward Island	12.3	11.5	3.6	1.1
Nova Scotia	12.7	11.5	3.1	1.1
New Brunswick	10.9	10.4	3.0	1.0
Quebec*	4.8	4.4	1.8	1.2
Ontario	12.1	9.8	3.0	1.6
Manitoba	9.2	9.1	1.9	1.3
Saskatchewan	10.5	9.3	2.2	1.3
Alberta	10.1	9.9	2.5	1.4
British Columbia	12.4	12.2	2.8	1.7
Yukon	8.1	2.8	5.7	--
Northwest Territories	3.0	6.5	3.0	--

Note: Rates are age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population.

-- Data not available.

* Quebec has a somewhat lower incidence rate due in part to an incomplete registration of new cases.

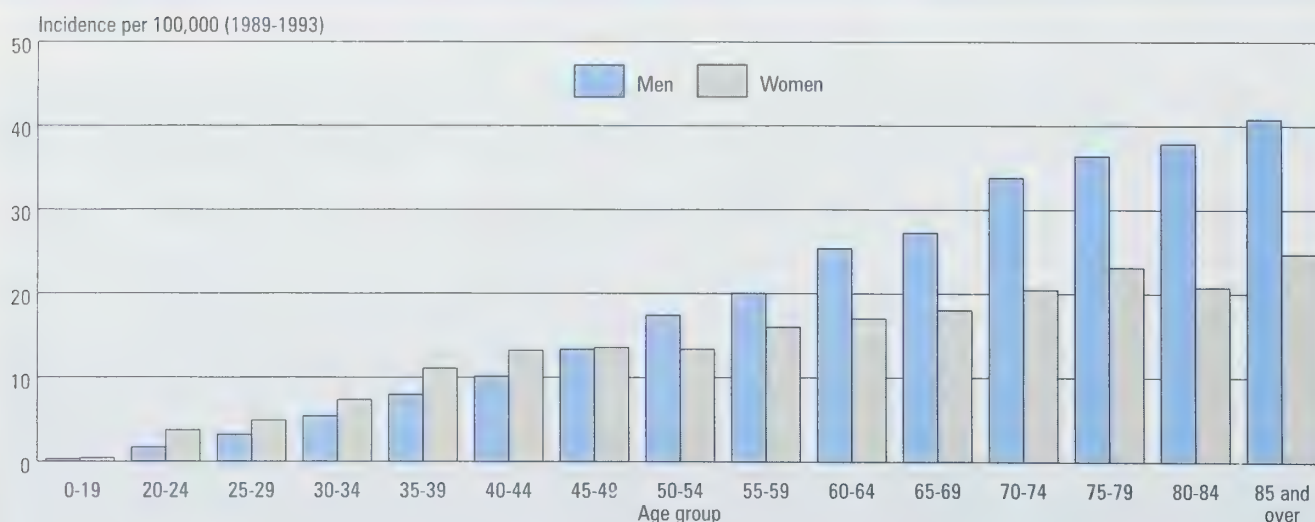
Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, Canadian Cancer Registry, Canadian Vital Statistics Data Base.

of the previous quarter century, when women were more likely than men to be diagnosed with melanoma. Age-standardized mortality rates in 1996 have also tended to level off since the mid- to late 1980s.

Both incidence and mortality rates for melanoma have declined since 1985 among younger Canadians, and increased among older age groups. For men, incidence rates have been falling for those under 50 and rising for those age 50 and over; the same fall and rise is observed among women on each side of age 60. The pattern for mortality rates is somewhat similar, with both men and women aged 30 to 39 experiencing particularly large declines.

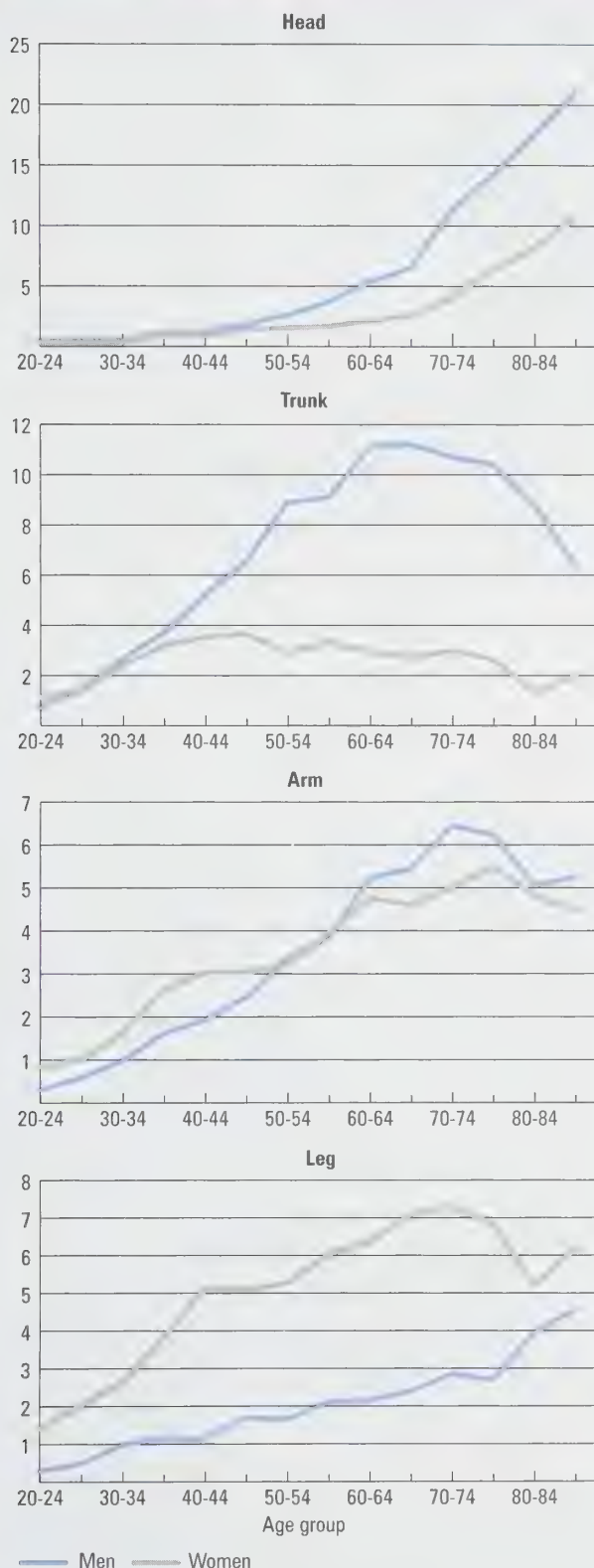
Are sun protection measures paying off?

It is well-established that sunburns during childhood may initiate the development of melanomas which appear later in life. Sun exposure can also play a role in promoting its development among adults. Data from the 1996 Sun Exposure Survey indicate that many Canadians have now adopted a variety of strategies to reduce this risk by protecting themselves from the



Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System, Canadian Cancer Registry.

Incidence per 100,000 population (1989-1993)



Source: National Cancer Incidence Reporting System,
Canadian Cancer Registry.

sun. About four in ten Canadians aged 15 and over wore protective clothing during their leisure hours, covered their heads, used sunscreen on their faces and stayed in the shade as much as possible. Men were more likely to wear protective clothing, while women were more likely to use other measures to protect themselves from the sun.

Trends in the incidence and mortality rates for melanoma appear to be related to changes in sun exposure or to protective behaviours in early childhood. Part of the increase in incidence rates during the 1970s may be explained by changes in the previous 70 years in recreational activities and the style of outdoor dress which increased the sun exposure of children and adults. Meanwhile, the recent declines in melanoma rates among younger Canadians suggest that sun exposure patterns may have changed among those born since 1950.

This suggestion is supported by data on the sites of the body on which melanomas develop. The incidence rates for melanoma are somewhat different for the different parts of the body, depending on the age of the affected person and whether they are male or female. This may reflect the fact that women and men have different levels of exposure to the sun during their lifetimes. For example, melanomas appear on the head twice as frequently among men 50 and over as among women the same age, probably because many men go bald. Men also have much higher rates for melanoma of the trunk after age 35, a likely consequence of their additional exposure to the sun during both recreational and work activities. On the other hand, incidence rates for melanoma of the leg are typically two to three times higher among women in almost all age groups, and have increased rapidly, probably because women more frequently expose their legs to the sun in shorts, skirts and bathing suits. The stability of incidence rates for the leg since the mid-1980s may reflect women's tendency to "cover up" beginning in the mid-1970s.

- This article is adapted from "Changing Trends in Cancer Incidence and Mortality," *Health Reports*, Volume 10, no. 2, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 82-003-XPB.

Leslie A. Gaudette is currently on an assignment at the Cancer Bureau, Health Canada and **Ru-Nie Gao** is with Health Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
LABOUR FORCE									
<i>Labour force ('000)</i>	14,329.0	14,407.8	14,482.2	14,663.5	14,832.4	14,927.6	15,145.4	15,354.0	15,631.5
<i>Total employed ('000)</i>	13,165.1	12,916.1	12,842.0	13,014.7	13,291.7	13,505.5	13,676.2	13,940.6	14,326.4
Men	7,320.3	7,104.1	7,030.8	7,126.1	7,289.9	7,396.5	7,478.9	7,648.8	7,802.6
Women	5,844.8	5,812.0	5,811.2	5,888.6	6,001.8	6,109.0	6,197.3	6,291.7	6,523.8
<i>Workers employed part-time (%)</i>	17.0	18.1	18.5	19.1	18.8	18.6	18.9	19.0	18.7
Men	9.1	10.1	10.5	11.0	10.7	10.6	10.7	10.5	10.5
Women	26.8	28.0	28.2	28.8	28.6	28.2	28.9	29.4	28.6
Involuntary part-time ¹	20.2	25.1	29.5	32.2	31.8	31.9	35.3	31.4	29.4
Looked for full-time work	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10.7	10.1
% of women employed whose youngest child is under 6	15.1	15.4	15.4	15.7	15.7	15.5	15.5	15.4	14.8
% of workers who were self-employed	14.4	14.9	15.1	15.8	15.9	15.8	16.6	17.8	17.6
% of employed working over 40 hours per week ²	20.3	19.7	20.3	21.0	21.8	21.9	21.4	19.3	19.1
% of workers employed in temporary/contract positions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.3	11.8
% of full-time students employed in summer	58.6	54.9	51.3	49.0	49.4	49.1	46.7	45.5	47.1
<i>Unemployment rate (%)</i>	8.1	10.4	11.3	11.2	10.4	9.5	9.7	9.2	8.3
Men aged 15-24	13.9	18.8	20.2	20.2	18.5	17.0	17.5	17.6	16.6
Aged 25-54	7.1	9.5	10.7	10.3	9.5	8.6	8.7	7.9	7.2
Women aged 15-24	11.3	13.3	15.1	14.9	14.3	14.0	14.6	15.7	13.7
Aged 25-54	7.5	9.0	9.4	9.7	9.0	8.3	8.5	7.9	7.1
Population with high school or less	10.2	13.1	14.2	14.2	13.2	12.4	12.5	12.3	11.4
Population with postsecondary completion	6.3	8.2	9.4	9.5	8.9	7.9	8.1	7.5	6.6
Population with university degree	3.7	4.9	5.5	5.7	5.4	4.9	5.2	4.8	4.3
EDUCATION									
<i>Total enrollment in elementary/secondary schools ('000)</i>	5,141.0	5,218.2	5,284.1	5,327.8	5,362.8	5,440.3	5,447.8	5,594.9	5,661.7
Secondary school graduation rate (%)	68.5	70.4	73.2	74.6	71.5	74.8	—	—	—
<i>Postsecondary enrollment ('000)</i>									
Community college, full-time	324.5	349.1	364.6	369.1	377.9	389.5	395.3	396.7	—
Community college, part-time	193.5	216.8	185.5	179.2	164.0	158.5	153.7	152.9	—
University, full-time ³	532.1	554.0	569.5	574.3	575.7	573.2	576.9	582.2	—
University, part-time ³	309.2	313.3	316.2	300.3	283.3	273.2	251.3	237.9	—
% of population 18-24 enrolled full-time in postsecondary	29.0	31.3	32.6	32.9	33.4	33.9	—	—	—
% of population 18-21 in college	19.8	21.7	23.0	23.4	23.9	24.4	—	—	—
% of population 18-24 in university ³	18.0	19.2	19.8	20.0	20.3	20.2	—	—	—
<i>Community college diplomas granted ('000)</i>	83.8	85.9	92.5	95.2	99.0	100.4	102.9	105.7	—
<i>Bachelor's and first professional degrees granted⁴ ('000)</i>	109.8	114.8	120.7	123.2	126.5	127.3	127.0	125.0	—
Agriculture, biological sciences	7,207	7,284	7,485	7,722	8,121	8,399	—	—	—
Education	18,343	19,995	21,454	21,064	21,123	21,277	—	—	—
Engineering and applied sciences	7,810	7,925	8,244	8,309	8,799	9,098	—	—	—
Fine and applied arts	3,579	3,532	3,960	4,049	4,189	4,194	—	—	—
Health professions	7,599	7,548	7,770	7,778	7,970	8,375	—	—	—
Humanities	13,864	14,759	15,937	16,721	16,643	16,127	—	—	—
Mathematics and physical sciences	6,290	6,377	6,429	6,580	6,816	7,142	—	—	—
Social sciences	42,229	44,319	46,525	47,844	49,172	49,035	—	—	—
% of bachelor's graduates with student loans	50.9	—	—	—	—	50.3	—	—	—
Average amount of loan (1995 dollars)	9,700	—	—	—	—	13,300	—	—	—

— Data not available.

1. 1996 is an eight-month average (January to August). Data after 1996 are not comparable with previous years.

2. Hours usually worked in their main job by workers aged 25 and over.

3. Includes undergraduate and graduate.

4. Includes field of study not reported.

Lesson Plan for "Under one roof: Three generations living together"

Objectives

- To examine less common living arrangements among families.
- To consider values and responsibilities within the family.
- To discuss the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

Method

- 1 Take a quick poll of the class to determine how many students live in three-generation households. How does this proportion compare with the national figure?
- 2 Divide the class into four groups and assign a different household structure to each group (see Chart 1). Have the groups explore, through discussion, at least three possible situations which may have led to the formation of their assigned household structure. One person from each group should present the results to the class.
- 3 In Canada and in most other industrialized nations, the vast majority of grandparents and parents do not live together. According to the article, this is so because they prefer not to. Do you agree; why or why not? What other reasons may explain this situation?
- 4 Three-generation families must learn to live with more than one generation gap. Discuss some of the age-related conflicts that exist between you and your parents, you and your grandparents, and your parents and grandparents. For example, think of the type of music each generation prefers to listen to.
- 5 The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is usually a special one. List five ways in which your grandparents treat you differently than your parents do. What would you miss out on if you didn't have grandparents? Would a "surrogate grandparent," such as a neighbour, family-friend or other relative, be able to substitute for a grandparent?

Using other resources

- Visit the Statistics Canada website at <http://www.statcan.ca>. Look under "Canadian statistics, The people" and collect more data on family structure, the immigrant population and population age structure.

Share your ideas!

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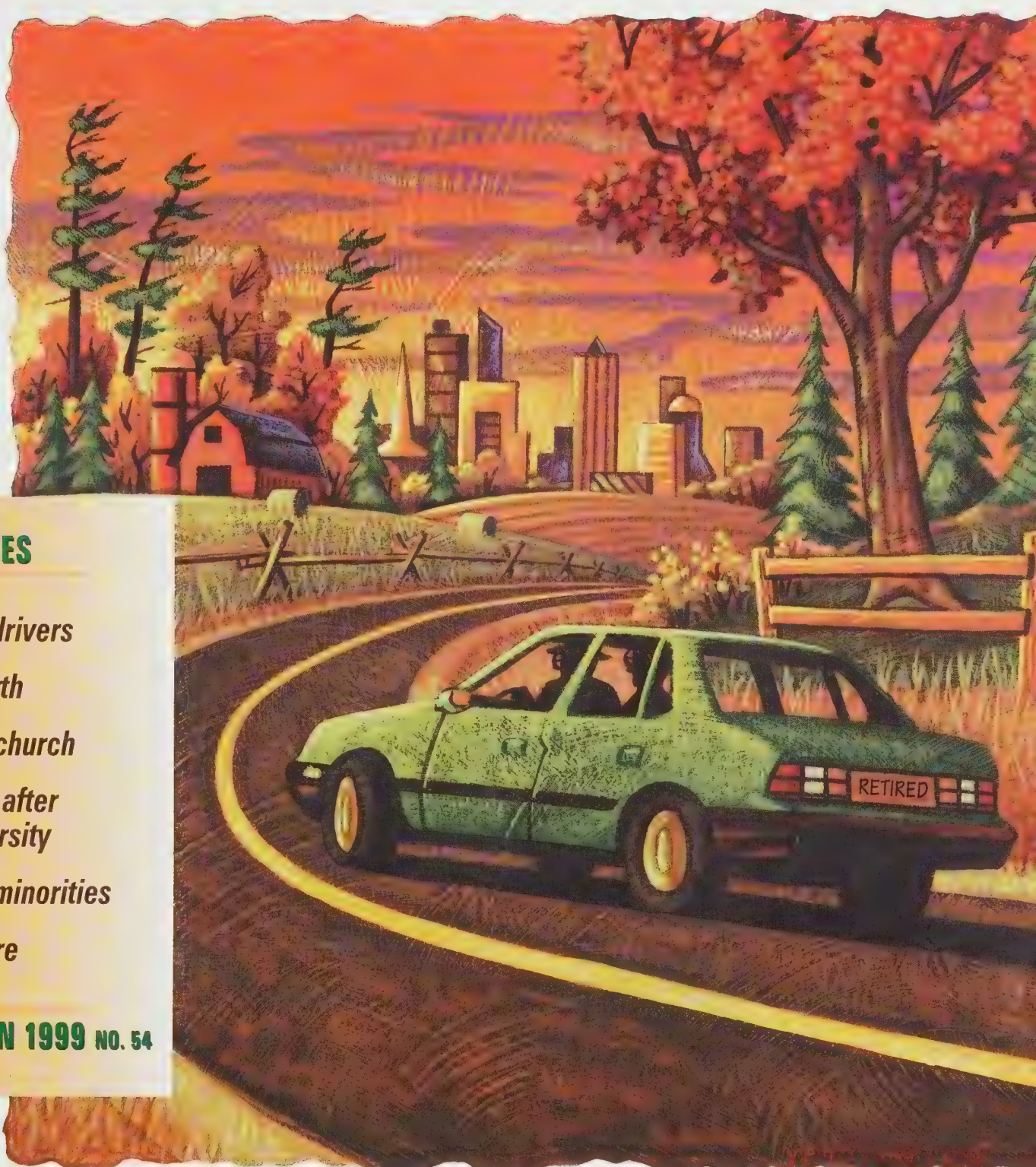
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Seniors behind the wheel

by Irwin Bess

Being able to live independently is important to all adults, but it is an issue of particular concern to seniors. Research has shown that the single greatest fear of most older people is that of becoming dependent. Although independence can take many different shapes and forms, for the 3.4 million Canadians aged 65 or over, it often means having a car and being able to drive. A comfortable, convenient means of transportation, driving allows seniors to visit family and friends, attend appointments, and participate in recreational and volunteer activities. This reliance on a car for an active lifestyle is particularly true for those living in small towns and rural areas, where little or no public transit or special-needs transportation may be available.

In 1996, about one-half of seniors living in private households (1.7 million) were driving a car, mini-van or light truck. And as the large baby-boom generation ages, the number of older drivers will increase over the next few decades. Using data from several Statistics Canada surveys, this article examines various facets of car use among seniors and highlights



differences between those living in urban and rural areas.

Rural and small town seniors rely more heavily on their cars

Getting around poses different challenges in small towns or the country than in large cities. First, while residents of large cities have access to different forms of public and private transportation, seniors in small towns and rural areas tend to have far fewer transit options. Second, people in small towns and rural areas generally live farther from family, friends, physicians and grocery stores than residents of large urban centres. According to the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS), nearly 20% of rural seniors lived more than a 30-minute walk from the nearest grocery or convenience store, compared with only 5% of their urban counterparts. It comes as no surprise, then, that rural seniors are more likely to drive than seniors in urban centres. In 1996, some 60% of rural and small town seniors were drivers compared with 46% of those living in large cities.

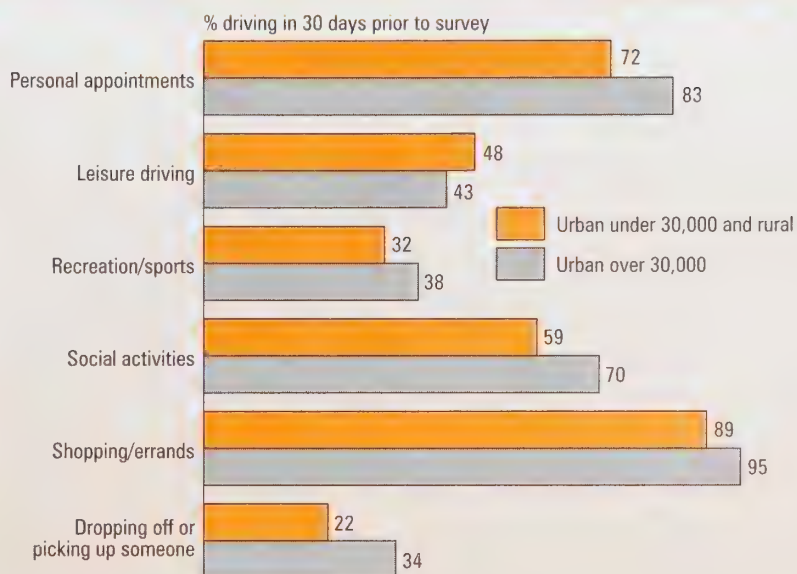
Regardless of whether they were rural or urban residents, the majority of drivers aged 65 and over drove only a few times a week. Furthermore, most of the distances travelled were comparatively short. Most often, seniors used their car for shopping, personal appointments such as visiting physicians, and family or social get-togethers. Relatively few older drivers used the car for long-distance trips or to pick up and drop off other people.

Operating a car is more expensive in rural areas

Owning and operating a private vehicle can be a costly proposition, particularly at a time in life when people tend to live on fixed incomes. In 1996, rural households headed by persons aged 65 and over spent approximately \$4,800, or 17% of their total budget, on the purchase and operation of a car or

CST

Seniors use their car most often for shopping and personal appointments



Source: Statistics Canada, National Private Vehicle Use Survey, 1996.

CST

What you should know about this study

Most of the data in this article come from the National Private Vehicle Use Survey. Compiled by Statistics Canada, for Natural Resources Canada, this survey was conducted between January and September 1996. The exclusion of respondents during the three months between October and December may result in slightly biased estimates of vehicle use due to the nature of winter driving patterns. The sample includes individuals 15 years or older living in 2,013 private households in Canada's 10 provinces.

Other data come from the 1996-97 National Population Health Survey (NPHS), designed to collect information on the health of Canadians. The survey sample included over 13,000 Canadians aged 65 years and over in residential households in all provinces and territories. Populations on Indian Reserves, Canadian Forces Bases and some remote areas of Quebec and Ontario were excluded. Respondents were asked about their health conditions, use of health services, risk factors and socioeconomic status.

Large towns or cities: urban areas with populations over 30,000 people.

Small towns: urban areas with populations under 30,000 people.

Rural areas: regions with populations less than 1,000 people (or less than 400 persons per square kilometre).

Valid provincial driver's license: excludes persons with a learning permit or suspended license and those who have let their license expire.

truck. In contrast, seniors in large urban areas spent a substantial \$2,000 less, about \$2,800, which amounted to only 9% of their budget. When it comes to financing a vehicle, rural seniors, with their typically lower incomes, are in a difficult situation. Yet it is this group whose need for a car — because of fewer transportation

alternatives and greater distances — is the highest.

Senior men more likely to drive than senior women

Regardless of area of residence or marital status, senior men are far more likely to drive than senior women. Results of the 1996 National Private

Vehicle Use Survey (NAPVUS) indicate that in the majority (55%) of households where the husband held a valid license, he was the exclusive driver of the family car. Whether or not the wife was licensed made little difference — the husband still did the bulk of the driving.

In small towns and rural areas, 77% of husbands had driven the household vehicle during the 30 days prior to the survey, compared with only 36% of wives; in large urban areas, 65% of husbands and 37% of wives had done so. Although the differences between the sexes were not as pronounced among unmarried seniors, their driving patterns were similar to those of their married counterparts: men were much more likely to sit behind the wheel.

When older women do drive, whether in large cities or in small towns and rural areas, it is mostly over very short distances: 65% of married senior women who drove the family car travelled an average of only 15 kilometres per day. In contrast, only 42% of older married men tended to drive such short distances. Among unmarried seniors, the differences were less pronounced, with 38% of women and 35% of men driving 15 kilometres or less per day.

Older women's lack of driving experience may have far-reaching consequences, particularly since they tend to outlive their husbands. Once alone, they may find that unless they drive, they must either significantly curtail their activities or rely on others for help with transportation. Either way, their ability to lead an independent life might be limited.

Age-related health limitations may affect driving performance

Most conditions that may eventually affect driving — for example, reduced vision, hearing problems, and impaired mobility arising from arthritis or rheumatism — begin at around age 55.¹ While at first these changes are



Rural and small town seniors were most likely to be drivers...

	Rural area	Urban area		
		Under 30,000	30,000 to 500,000	Over 500,000
% of seniors who hold licenses ¹	72	62	63	52
% of seniors who are drivers ²	59	60	54	46

...but the majority used their car only a few times a week

Total senior drivers ('000)	316	241	490	699
		%		
Every day	27	34	39	35
A few times a week	64	61	57	57
Less than once a week	10	5	4	7

1. In households with at least one working vehicle.

2. Reported vehicle use during 30 days prior to survey.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Private Vehicle Use Survey, 1996.



Rural seniors spent more on their car than other seniors

% of seniors' total budget



Source: Statistics Canada, Family Expenditure Survey, 1996.

often minor, they tend to become more pronounced as people age. According to the 1996-97 National Population Health Survey (NPHS), about 16% of men and women between the ages of 65 and 69 experienced physical pain that was severe enough to restrict some of their activities and potentially affect their ability to drive safely. In addition, the prevalence of dementia (of which Alzheimer's disease is the most common) increases sharply with age, starting at around 65 years. Characterized by progressive loss of cognitive function, in particular memory, dementia has also been linked with increased risk of collisions.²

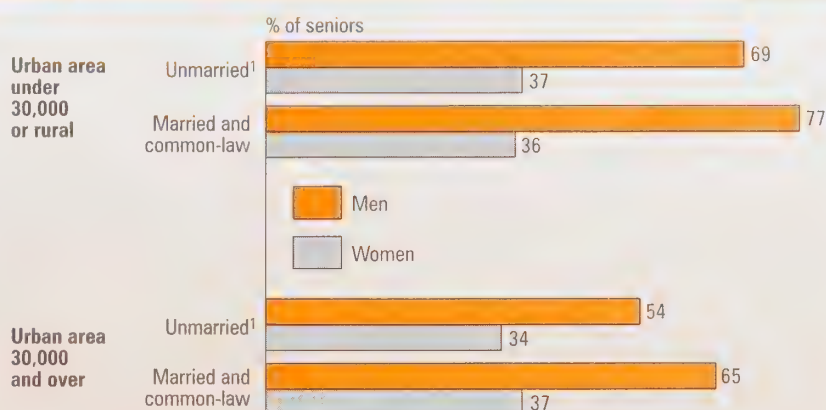
As seniors age, multiple medical conditions, along with the simultaneous use of several prescription medications, tend to become more common. These factors can also interfere with driving, perhaps resulting in slowing reaction time by that fraction of a second needed to avoid an accident. NPHS results indicate that among those licensed to drive, 48% of men and 54% of women over age 75 had taken at least three different medications in the two days prior to the survey.³ As well, 56% of women and 35% of men in this age group suffered

from chronic arthritis or rheumatism, conditions that could make maneuvers such as those required to make sharp turns or merge with heavy traffic particularly difficult.

Studies have found that older drivers tend to compensate for

age-related health limitations by driving shorter distances and avoiding night driving, busy highways and downtown areas. Taking special measures may be particularly important on inter-city and rural routes, where speed limits exceed 60km/hour and a

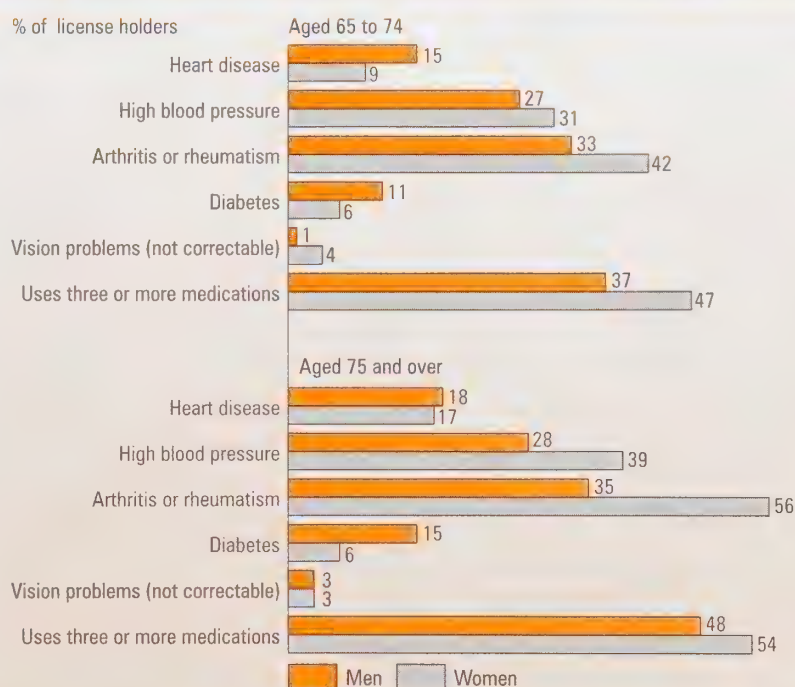
CST Senior men were more likely than senior women to drive



1. Never married, divorced or separated, and widowed.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Private Vehicle Use Survey, 1996.

CST Many seniors with driver's licenses have a health condition



Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1996-97.

1. Transportation Research Board. 1988. *Transportation in an Aging Society: Improving Mobility and Safety of Older Persons*. Vol.1. Washington: National Research Council. See also Wilkins, K. and E. Park. 1996. "Chronic conditions, physical limitations and dependency among seniors living in the community," *Health Reports* (Statistics Canada Catalogue 82-003) 8, 3: 7-14.
2. Fitten, L., C. Wilkinson, R. Little, M. Burns, N. Pachana, J. Mervis, R. Malmgren, D. Siembieda and S. Ganzell. 1995. "Alzheimer and vascular dementias and driving: A prospective road and laboratory study," *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 273, 17: 1360-1365.
3. Although the NPHS does not distinguish between licensed drivers and those who are licensed but do not drive, it can offer insights into the health of seniors who have valid driver's licenses.

high-speed collision is likely to result in severe injuries or death.⁴ In addition to being faster, 60km/hour roads tend to be situated outside urban areas where poorer visibility, sparse lighting, and reduced traction during winter demand a high degree of concentration and first-rate performance.

The health and accident profile of seniors has resulted in discussion about the relationship between aging and safe driving, and the necessity of monitoring change. According to one view, seniors should drive only as long as they maintain essential driving

skills — proven through periodic testing — and meet certain medical requirements. With this in mind, a number of provinces have instituted mandatory medical examinations for senior drivers; others rely on discretionary written, road or other tests when recommended by police, physicians, families or the public.⁵

On the other hand, there is concern that such measures may discourage seniors with appropriate skills and abilities from driving, and increase their dependence on others. For experienced older drivers, who

may have safely operated a vehicle for many years, having to take a road test can be a stressful and traumatic experience. Moreover, losing their license may deprive them of the mobility necessary for living active, independent lives. Research has found that seniors who give up driving may be reluctant to ask for help with transportation; as a result, they often experience periods of inactivity, feelings of loneliness or loss of control. These negative experiences can, in turn, be detrimental to their general health and well-being.⁶

CST Older driver fatalities and injuries

Although seniors tend to drive outside rush-hour periods, during daylight hours and under conditions of clear visibility, they remain vulnerable to collisions resulting in fatalities or major injuries. While older drivers are involved in fewer collisions than drivers aged 16 to 24, this may be because seniors drive less. An Ontario study found that on the basis of kilometres driven, older drivers actually get into approximately the same number of accidents as their 16- to 24-year-old counterparts.¹ And seniors who are involved in an accident are more likely to die from their injuries or take longer to recover. Although in 1996 seniors represented 11% of the population, they accounted for 18% of all fatalities and 6% of injuries occurring on Canadian roadways (including not only drivers, but also passengers and pedestrians).

The prevalence of men among senior drivers increases their exposure to fatal collisions and injuries, particularly on high-speed roads. According to Transport Canada, senior men driving on highways or rural roads with speed limits in excess of 60 km/hr accounted for about 57% of all older driver fatalities in 1996.

Posted speed of road	Driver fatalities		Driver injuries	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Over 60 km/hr	136	33	1,847	778
Under 60 km/hr	56	14	3,449	2,326
Total	192	47	5,296	3,104

Note: Table only includes drivers aged 65 and over.
Source: Transport Canada, Custom Tabulation, 1996.

1. Tasca, L. 1998. *An Overview of Senior Driver Collision Risk*. Ontario Ministry of Transportation, Road Safety Program Office: Toronto.

Summary

The car is an important part of many seniors' lives, particularly in small towns and rural areas. Driving allows seniors to engage in social, cultural and recreational activities as well as to perform routine tasks such as grocery shopping or keeping a dentist's or doctor's appointment. In the absence of a car, or the ability to drive, seniors may lose their independence and, in some cases, their identity as active members of society.

Unfortunately, some seniors may find that, as time goes by, driving becomes more difficult. This is an especially important consideration for older married women, who may rely on their husbands to do most or all of

- 4. In 1996, about three-quarters of fatalities involving drivers age 65 and over occurred on these types of roads. Transport Canada. 1996. Custom tabulations.
- 5. Seniors may also have the option of taking refresher training such as the "55 Alive Mature Driving Program," which is designed to ensure that older drivers realize their limitations and compensate for age-related changes in physical condition. Training includes road safety and collision prevention measures.
- 6. Yassuda, M., J. Wilson and O. Mering. 1997. "Driving cessation: The perspective of senior drivers," *Educational Gerontology: An International Journal* 23, 6: 525-538.

Province	Mandatory medical exam	Mandatory driver's test(s)	Discretionary requirements
Newfoundland	Yes – at ages 75, 80 and every 2 years thereafter.	No	Physician or police may request road test.
Prince Edward Island	No	No	Physicians, family members and general public may request medical, vision and/or road tests if senior involved in collision, multiple violations, or operating a vehicle in an unsafe manner.
Nova Scotia	No	No	Family members, police and insurance personnel may recommend medical, vision, written and/or road tests.
New Brunswick	No	No	Physicians, family members or police may recommend medical, vision and/or road test.
Quebec	Yes – at ages 75, 80 and every 2 years thereafter.	No	Same as New Brunswick.
Ontario	Yes – at age 80 and every 2 years thereafter.	Yes – knowledge test and traffic safety workshop at age 80 and every 2 years thereafter.	Road test is required for seniors over 70 years if involved in a collision in which at fault. Road test may be required after vision and knowledge tests or if recommended by physician, police or driver assessment counsellor.
Manitoba	No	No	Physicians or police may request medical, vision, written, oral and/or a reduced version of the road test. Failure to pass requires completion of a full-length road test.
Saskatchewan	No	No	Same as New Brunswick and Quebec.
Alberta	Yes – at ages 75, 80 and every 2 years thereafter.	No	Physicians or police may recommend medical, vision and/or road tests which may result in driving restrictions.
British Columbia	Yes – every 2 years if first license obtained after age 74; at age 80 for all drivers and every 2 years thereafter.	No	Family members, physicians or police may report drivers they feel warrant investigation. A driver may be asked to complete a medical, vision and/or road test.
Northwest Territories	Yes – at ages 75, 80 and every 2 years thereafter.	No	Same as British Columbia.
Yukon	Yes – at ages 70, 80 and every year thereafter.	No	Same as New Brunswick, Quebec and Saskatchewan.

Source: Provincial licensing agencies, March 1999.

the driving. Even though women are likely to outlive their husbands, men hold the only valid license in many husband-wife households. In the event of losing their partner in old age, women who have never or rarely

driven may have to begin to do so at that time or depend on others for help. However, given the increasing number of younger women driving, this situation may not persist in the future.



Irwin Bess is an analyst with Transportation Division, Statistics Canada.

North is that direction

by **Chuck McNiven**

There is no doubt that Canada has a North, but where is it? Most people probably consider the North to be "the Far North" or "north of 60° latitude" — Yukon, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut. But this definition does not capture many of the essential elements that constitute the North, and it ignores those more southerly regions of the country that share similar climate, physical attributes and settlement patterns with the Far North — the northern regions of Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces, British Columbia and Labrador.

Geographers have developed some consensus on what defines the North, but no common agreement about its boundary has emerged. Now, issues such as Aboriginal land claims, the protection of the environment and the development of resources call for a definition that would serve a wide range of purposes and needs by addressing genuine characteristics of "northness." This study amalgamates many existing methods of delineating the northern boundary to propose a new, more universal concept of Canada's northern regions; it then demonstrates the usefulness of the concept for examining population characteristics.

Where is North?

The diversity of views about the North is reflected in the many competing concepts of the North. Perhaps the most obvious choice is the cold climate, which shapes almost all aspects of the northern environment. Not solely a reflection of latitude, temperature reflects topography, hydrological features, prevailing winds and ice pack, but most importantly soils and vegetation. Soils represent the cumulative effects of environmental, chemical and biotic processes occurring over millennia. Cold temperatures inhibit soil development, which suppresses agricultural activity, which alters settlement patterns, which dampens economic growth. Since temperature both enables and curtails human activity, it is a measure of an area's potential usefulness.

Given the interaction and interdependence between climate, human activity and biosphere, it is clear that no single variable is sufficient to define the North. Most of the well-known definitions, however, tend to place greater emphasis on one or another facet of the northern environment. The Arctic definition, for example, focuses on the natural frontiers between the arctic and the sub-arctic, and draws the boundary at the southern limit of the boreal forest.¹ On the other hand, the "accessibility approach" emphasizes the economic character of the North, placing key importance on distance and population density in providing basic social and economic needs. This concept essentially classifies the North as a hinterland to be developed and exploited for its natural resources. In fact, the relationship between remoteness and economic well-being is the basis for federal policies concerning taxation allowances for people living in remote areas; the Income Tax Relief Zones, for example, clearly define the North by latitude.

The idea of the Aboriginal North suggests it is possible to regard the native north and resource areas as Canada's North,² using differences in Aboriginal characteristics as the determining factor.³ A more complex variant of this approach is offered by the "nordicity concept,"⁴ which recognizes that the North has cultural as well as physical aspects. The nordicity index includes ten items, ranging

1. Bone, R. 1992. *The Geography of the Canadian North: Issues and Challenges*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
2. Bollman, R. 1994. "A preliminary topology of rural Canada," in *Towards Sustainable Rural Communities: The Guelph Seminar Series*, J. Bryden (ed.): 141-144. Guelph: University of Guelph.
3. Maslove, A.M. and D.C. Hawkes. 1990. *Canada's North: A Profile*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada Catalogue 98-122.
4. Hamelin, L.E. 1972. "L'écoumène du Nord canadien," in *Studies in Canadian Geography: The North*, W. Wonders (ed.): 25-40. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

from natural barriers, such as annual cold and plant cover, to human variables like accessibility and economic activity.

The boundary proposed in this article incorporates elements of all these ideas. It is based on a set of 16 variables that represent a complex set of factors and incorporates such diverse elements as the southern limits to the boreal forest, heating degree-days and income tax relief zones, in addition to the northern limits of agriculture, railways and all-season roads. Taken together, these variables provide a fairly inclusive definition of Canada's North. But when they are mapped, it is clear that there is not a distinct north-south divide; rather, what emerges is a gradual transition from north to south. To acknowledge this finding, two intermediate regions — the north and the south transition zones (NTZ and STZ) — were introduced to the definition. This new boundary shows that simple two-way comparisons of north and

south mask interesting differences within the northern regions: it is evident that residents of the North are often quite different from their neighbours in the north transition zone.

People are younger in northern Canada

All told, less than 2% of Canadians live in the country's immense northern regions. The population is only about 513,000, less than the census metropolitan area of Hamilton (624,000 in 1996). Almost one-third (186,000) live in the North and the remainder (327,000) live in the north transition zone (NTZ).

There is a slight gender imbalance in the northern regions, with men accounting for about 52% of the population in the North and for 51% in the NTZ. In fact, the proportion of women equals that of men in the northern regions only in the prime family formation (25 to 34) and

*There is not a distinct north-south divide;
rather, what emerges is a gradual transition
from north to south*

Canadian North, South and Transition Zones



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

senior age groups. In the South, women account for 51% of the population between ages 25 and 64, and for 57% in the 65 and over age group.

The most striking aspect of people in the northern regions, though, is their youth. In the South, about one-third of the population is less than 25 years old. But 50% of the residents in the North and 44% in the NTZ are under 25, with the difference in the age structures mainly the result of the higher percentage of people under age 15 in the North. The North also has proportionally fewer residents aged 45 and older than the NTZ (18% versus 24%). This difference suggests that people may work in the North but prefer to retire in southern communities.

The extreme youth of the population is partly attributable to the high concentration of Aboriginal peoples.⁵ The

Aboriginal populations, which are very young and growing quickly, account for a high proportion of northern residents — 43% compared with less than 2% in the South. In the NTZ, where a large percentage of First Nations communities are located, 25% of the population is Aboriginal. But in the North, home to the Inuit as well as many Cree and Athapaskan reserves and settlements, 60% of the people are Aboriginal.

An educated population is crucial for economic growth and development. Yet only 43% of Canadians aged 15 and over living in the northern regions have at least some post-secondary education, compared with 52% of those in the South. The gap is even greater at the university level, at 7% versus 14%. This finding contradicts the general rule that younger populations are better educated. Part of the explanation may lie in problems of access, since many postsecondary and most degree-granting institutions are located in the South.

CST What you should know about this study

Data for the 16 variables used to delineate the geographic boundaries were drawn from an extensive array of sources, and included the accessibility index, the agriculture ecumene, the agroclimatic resource index, the southern limit of the boreal forest, growing degree-days, heating degree-days, the isolation index, Revenue Canada's intermediate tax deduction, Revenue Canada's northern tax deduction, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development north delineation, the limit of discontinuous permafrost, the population ecumene, the northern limit of railways, the northern limit of all-season roads, the rurality index, and the Thornthwaite climate classification.

The boundaries were drawn using census subdivisions (CSD) from the 1996 Census of Population. CSDs that clearly fall into a given region were allocated to that region, whether the North, the transition zones or the South. Some CSDs straddled a regional boundary (especially in many of the very large CSDs in the northern areas of most provinces). In these cases, the CSD was allocated to the region in which the main centre of population is located.¹

Northern regions: the North and the north transition zone.

1. Areas with zero population were allocated to north, south or transition zones by geographic centre.

The greatest differences between North and NTZ are economic

The most notable differences between the residents in the North and the NTZ stem largely from the economic disparities between the two areas. The North has huge hydroelectric facilities in northern Quebec and Labrador, as well as extensive mining activities, the territorial capitals and associated government activities. The NTZ, by contrast, tends to be resource poor and most of it is located where the Canadian Shield and severe Arctic winters intersect. It has few urban centres. So although the percentage of working-age people employed was about the same in both regions (nearly 60%), the proportion of workers employed in service-producing industries, which tend to provide year-round work, are very different: 78% in the North and 66% in the NTZ. The differences are especially notable in community and government services, which employed almost 39% of workers in the North but only 25% in the NTZ.

Employment income accounts for 85% of total personal income in the North and 82% in the NTZ; in contrast, it accounts for only 75% of income in the South, where almost all the economic activity in the country is located. The North is also less reliant on government income than any other region: only 12% of total personal income comes from government sources compared with 13% in the NTZ and 14% in the South.

Summary

The North really should be envisioned as a layer of dimensions from physical characteristics to environmental attributes, and from population settlement to economic

5. All figures for Aboriginal peoples exclude incompletely enumerated Indian Reserves.

	North	North transition zone (NTZ)	Northern regions (North and NTZ) %	South	South transition zone
Male	52	51	52	49	50
Female	48	49	48	51	50
Age group					
Under 15	33	28	30	20	23
15 to 24	17	16	16	13	14
25 to 64	47	51	49	55	53
65 and over	3	6	5	12	10
Aboriginal population	60	25	43	2	7
Educational attainment					
Less than high school	47	46	47	34	39
High school	8	11	10	14	14
Trade diploma	4	4	4	4	4
Non-university postsecondary	32	32	32	34	33
University	8	7	7	14	10
Employment rate¹	58	60	59	59	60
Employment by industry sector					
Goods-producing	23	34	30	25	28
Service-producing	78	66	70	75	72
Source of income					
Employment	85	82	83	75	77
Government	12	13	13	14	14
Other	3	5	4	11	9
Population ('000)	186	327	513	25,732	2,283

1. Employed as a percentage of working-age population.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

activity. It is difficult to define the North in a way that will satisfy all social, economic or political needs. However, it is clear that the character of the population gradually changes as one moves further north: if a single boundary divides north from south, the individual character of the North is lost. Extending the boundaries to include intermediary areas of transition enhances our understanding of the needs and aspirations of Canada's immense northern regions.

This article is adapted from a forthcoming working paper and will be available on the Statistics Canada website.








Chuck McNiven is an analyst with Innovation and Electronic Information Division, Statistics Canada.



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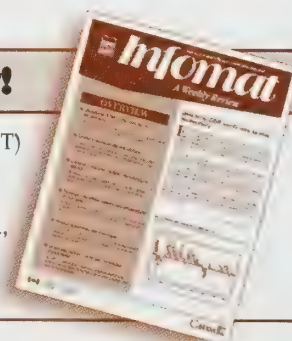
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Are children going to religious services?

by Frank Jones

One important decision that parents must make when raising their families concerns the religious or spiritual education of their children. It can also be one of the most contentious, both between parents who may not share the same faith or beliefs about child-rearing, and sometimes between parents and educational authorities.

So what do we know about children's religious observance? Is it true that few Canadian children attend church, Sunday school, or other places of worship? Are children in some faith communities more likely to attend than others? Do children have to sacrifice sports, music lessons, or club activities in order to participate in religious activities?

Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), conducted first in 1994-95, this article addresses some of these questions about the religious observance of children under 12 years.

One in three children attend religious services regularly

Over one-third, 36%, of Canada's children under 12 years of age attended religious services at least once a

CST What you should know about this study

This article is based on data from the 1994-95 National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY).¹ The NLSCY is conducted by Statistics Canada every two years on behalf of Human Resources Development Canada. It is designed to develop a clearer understanding of the factors that contribute to a child's development over time.

The 1994-95 NLSCY collected data on more than 22,500 children from newborn to 11 years, living in private households in the ten provinces (excluding Aboriginal children on reserves). Information was gathered about the children and their families in an interview with the "person most knowledgeable" about the child; at school, teachers and principals evaluated the child's scholastic development; and 10- to 11-year-olds were asked about their experiences with family, friends and school. Information will be collected about the same children every two years until they reach adulthood.

Child: a person under the age of 12. Not all data were collected for all children; for example, information about involvement in supervised activities was not captured for children under the age of four.

Person most knowledgeable (PMK): In 98% of cases, the PMK was the child's parent, usually the mother; therefore, this article uses "mother" or "parent" as a synonym for PMK.

Regular attendance: attendance at religious services at least once a month during the year preceding the survey.

1. The 1996-97 NLSCY does not include information about religion and religious observance.

month, and the majority were weekly participants. A further 22% attended less frequently, but did go at least once during the year. The vast majority of children were accompanied by a parent, most often the mother.

Regular attendance (weekly or monthly) varied considerably depending on the child's age, sex, region of residence and religious affiliation. It generally increased until children were eight years old, and then began to stabilize.¹ Girls were somewhat more likely to be regular attendees (38%) than boys (34%). Children living in Atlantic Canada had the highest regular attendance rate, 52%, while those in Quebec had the lowest, 19%.

Religious affiliation accounted for the largest differences in children's regular participation in religious services. The highest weekly attendance occurred among children in the Jehovah's Witness (90%), smaller Christian denominations (64%), and Baptist (60%) communities. Most people would not be surprised at these figures, since many regard these as conservative faith communities. On the other hand, children in what many observers consider the mainline faith communities, such as Anglican and United Church, reported the lowest weekly attendance rates (18%).

Non-attendance tended to be highest in the faith communities where

weekly attendance was lowest. Islam was an exception: a high proportion of Muslim children attended Islamic religious services weekly (44%), but they also recorded the highest rate of non-attendance (39%) during the year preceding the survey.

Mother and family are important factors in child attendance

Because mothers are often most responsible for their children's informal education,² it is not surprising that their education and labour force activity are associated with the child's attendance at religious services.³ What may surprise, though, is the nature of the relationships.

First, regular attendance rates for children increased with the educational attainment of the mother. The rate climbed from 30% for children whose mothers had less than high school graduation, to 40% for those whose mothers had a university degree. This finding would seem to contradict a widespread perception that less well-educated people are more likely to participate regularly in religious services. But the NLSCY results support an earlier study which found that families

CST

Over one-third of children attend religious services regularly,¹ and most are accompanied by a parent...

Frequency of attendance

	Weekly	Monthly	Occasionally	Not at all
Child	23	13	22	42
Parent attends with child ²	81	77	90	100

%

but their attendance varies widely with their religious affiliation

Roman Catholic	22	18	31	29
United Church	18	18	30	34
Anglican	18	16	30	36
Presbyterian	39	10	23	29
Lutheran	29	18	29	24
Baptist	60	10	12	17
Islam	44	--	--	39
Jehovah's Witness	90	--	--	--
Other ³	64	10	--	16

Note: Sample sizes for children in the Eastern Orthodox, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu and Sikh faith communities were too small to produce reliable estimates.

-- Sample too small to yield reliable estimates.

1. Attends weekly or monthly.

2. Person most knowledgeable attends at least as often as the child.

3. Smaller, mainly Christian faith communities.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1994-95.

1. One study found that children's attitudes to religious education (e.g., Sunday school) change between the ages of 8 and 15, although attitudes to school do not. Francis, L. J. 1987. "The decline in attitudes towards religion among 8- 15-year-olds," *Educational Studies* 13, 2:125-134.

2. R. Bibby argues that the mother is most influential in the child's religious identification. "The persistence of Christian religious identification in Canada," *Canadian Social Trends*, Spring 1997.

3. A study using Australian data suggests that women's lower workforce participation is a more important explanatory factor than their traditional child-rearing role when accounting for women's greater religious observance. De Vaus, D. and I. McAllister. 1987. "Gender differences in religion: a test of the Structural Location Theory," *American Sociological Review* 52, 4: 472-581.

with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to take their children to church, although children from families with lower socioeconomic status tend to hold more positive attitudes towards Christianity.⁴

Second, one might expect that mothers working full-time are less likely to take their children to religious services because of increased time pressures. This finds some support in the data: only about one-third (35%) of children whose mothers worked full-time attended religious services regularly, compared with 43% of children whose mothers worked part-time. The attendance rate of children whose mothers had no paid work at all was almost identical to that for children of full-time working mothers (34%); however, mothers without paid work are more likely to be caring for very young children, who may not be considered old enough to benefit from going to religious services.⁵

4. Francis, L. J., Paul R. Pearson and D. W. Lankshear. 1990. "The relationship between social class and attitude towards Christianity among 10- and 11-year-old children," *Personality and Individual Differences* 11, 10: 1019-1027.

The size and structure of the family also influence the likelihood of attending religious services. Children in families with both biological parents were much more likely to attend regularly (38%) than children in lone-parent families (28%) and step-parent families (31%). The number of children also affects regular attendance, with children from larger families

being much more likely to attend services at least once a month. While

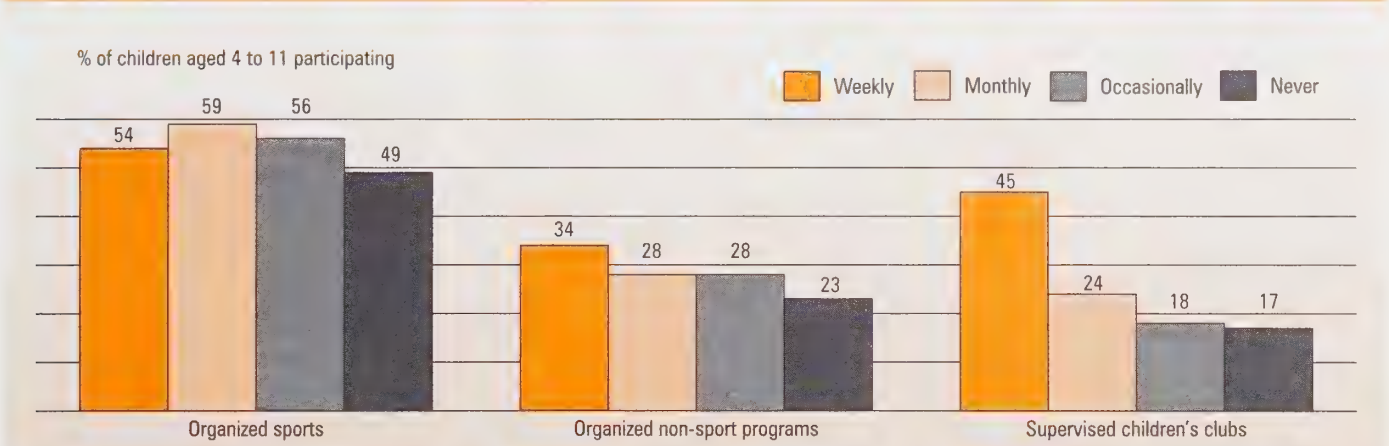
5. An American study in the 1970s found that having pre-school-aged children reduces parental attendance, while having school-aged children increases it. Azzi, C. and R. Ehrenberg. 1975. "Household allocation of time and church attendance," *Journal of Political Economy* 83, 1: 27-56.

CST Regular attendance rates among children increase with the mother's educational attainment

	Child attends religious services		
	Regularly	Occasionally %	Not at all
Education			
Less than high school	30	20	50
High school	34	24	42
Some postsecondary	36	22	42
College	36	22	42
University	40	22	38
Labour force status			
Not in paid labour force	34	20	46
Works part-time	43	20	37
Works full-time	35	24	41

Source: Statistics Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1994-95.

CST Children who attend services regularly are more likely to participate in other supervised activities



Source: Statistics Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1994-95.

24% of children in one-child families attended services. 52% of children in families with four or more children did so. This may simply reflect the fact that large families are more likely to have older children, and that parents who want to take one child to religious services will probably take the whole family.

Does religious attendance reduce children's other activities?

Frequent attendance at religious services does not reduce the likelihood that children aged 4 to 11 will also participate in organized sports, in non-sport programs such as music lessons, or in clubs such as brownies or cubs. In fact the opposite is true: regular attendees were most likely to engage in each of these three types of activities. For example, 54% of children who attended services weekly, and 59% who attended monthly, were enrolled in weekly sports programs, compared with 49% of 4- to 11-year-olds who did not attend religious services at all. The differences are even greater for participation in supervised boys and girls clubs — 45% of weekly attendees and 17% of non-attendees. This finding is not unexpected, since

many parents probably view their children's participation in organized activities as an informal education that teaches values complementary to those learned at home and reiterated in religious services.

Summary

Well over one-third of Canada's children under 12 attend religious services at least once a month. Participation increases with age and the educational attainment of the child's mother. Mothers working in the paid labour force are more likely to bring their children to a place of worship than are mothers who do not work outside the home, and single mothers are less likely to do so than married mothers. And rather than reducing involvement in sports, music lessons, or supervised clubs, attendance at religious services increases the likelihood of being involved in these other activities.



Frank Jones is a senior analyst with Labour and Household Surveys Analysis Division, Statistics Canada.

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New immigrants most likely to live in low income for consecutive years

Twenty-one percent of people who immigrated to Canada after 1986 lived in a low-income situation for the four-year period from 1993 to 1996. In contrast, only 4% of Canadian-born residents experienced such an extended period of low income. Members of visible minority groups, many of whom are recent immigrants, also reported high rates of continuous low income: 17% lived in a low income situation for four consecutive years, a rate four times higher than that for people who were not visible minorities (4%). The higher risk for both recent immigrants and visible minorities still existed even after taking into account their age and level of education. Other factors, such as language skills and relevant work experience, have yet to be assessed.

To what extent are Canadians exposed to low income: 1993 to 1996

Statistics Canada
Internet product 75F0002MIE, 99001
www.statcan.ca/english/specialty/75F0002MIE/99001.pdf



Educational profile of farmers rising

Farmers on the whole are better educated than they were 15 years ago. About 40% of farm operators had some postsecondary education in 1996, with non-university diplomas (24%) being more common than university degrees (15%). This represents a substantial increase over 1981, when 16% of farmers had college or trade, vocational training and 11% had university. Women were more likely to have a postsecondary

education — 30% had college or trade/vocational and 19% had university, compared with 23% and 14% of men, respectively. The preference for non-university schooling may result from several factors, including the time a university education requires away from the farm and the generally more practical approach of college courses. Incidentally, only 19% of farmers with postsecondary education had studied agricultural and biological sciences and technologies. The most popular field of study (23%) was engineering and applied science technologies and trades.

1996 Census of Agriculture—Population linkage database
www.statcan.ca/Daily/english/990426/d990426.htm



Cannabis offences most common drug offence

In 1997, police forces in Canada reported 66,500 drug offences, a rate of 222 offences for every 100,000 population. Among the provinces, British Columbia has consistently reported the highest rate of drug crime since 1982. In 1997, it recorded 426 drug offences per 100,000, while Newfoundland recorded the lowest rate, at 132. In recent years, Newfoundland and Alberta have shown the largest declines in the rate of drug offences, while Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba have shown the largest increases.

Cannabis offences accounted for 72% of all drug crime in 1997, up from 58% in 1991. In contrast, cocaine represented 17% of all cases in 1997, down from 28%, and heroin for about 2% of all cases, down marginally from 1991. Overall, 40,800 people, both adults and youths, were charged with a drug offence in 1997. Nine in ten were male. People charged in cocaine and heroin incidents averaged 30 years of age, while those charged with cannabis offences averaged 25 years. Also,

older offenders are more likely to be involved with supply offences.

Juristat: Illicit drugs and crime
Vol 19, no. 1, Statistics Canada
Catalogue no. 85-002-XPE or
Internet product 85-002-XIE



Hospital discharge rates at historic low

Hospitals discharged 3.2 million overnight patients in 1996-97, down from 3.3 million in 1995-96. This represents a 6% drop in the discharge rate (including deaths) to 10,523 discharges for every 100,000 people from 11,165 per 100,000 the previous year. The rate has now reached its lowest level since 1961, when such data were first collected. Declines in discharge rates are due to many factors. More frequent use of ambulatory care and day surgery, the shift from hospital to community-based services, increased emphasis on health promotion and disease prevention, improved medical technologies and treatments, as well as new pharmaceuticals may have reduced the need for hospitalization or surgical intervention.

Karen McCarthy,
Canadian Institute for
Health Information,
(613) 241-7860, ext. 4026.



Attendance drops for performing arts companies

In 1996-97, attendance at performing arts shows fell almost 13% from 1994-95. Declines were due to losses in three of the four disciplines: audience size was down in opera (-22%), theatre (-17%) and music (-6%), but dance attendance increased 6% to about 1.3 million spectators. Nevertheless, companies declared total revenues up 2% in 1996-97, compared with two

years earlier. Almost half (48%) of total revenues came from ticket sales, subscriptions, licensing and other sources. Another important source of income was revenue from foreign tours, which rose almost 10% from 1994-95, and accounted for almost 7% of earned revenues. However, only theatre companies reported an operating surplus (collectively, \$3.3 million). A deficit was reported by the other three disciplines, with the music companies having the highest operating deficit (collectively, \$1.6 million).

Performing Arts Survey
Marie Lavallée-Farah,
Culture Statistics Program,
Culture, Tourism and the Centre for
Education Statistics, (613) 951-1571;
lavamar@statcan.ca



Big business ready for the Y2K bug

Almost 100% of Canadian businesses with more than 250 employees say their computer systems will be ready to handle the date change to 2000. A substantial proportion of firms continued preparations throughout the summer; about 67% of all large firms expected to have all critical operational systems ready before September and fully 92% will be prepared by the end of October. Companies in air transportation, finance and insurance, oil and gas producers, manufacturers and distributors, electricity, manufacturing and communications planned to be ready before September, but 57% of large hospitals said they did not expect to finish until September or October. Police and ambulance services in almost all municipalities have taken action, and steps have been taken to prepare water and sewage services in municipalities where computerized systems are essential to service delivery.

National Survey on Preparedness for the Year 2000
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University graduates at college

by Warren Clark

Though most university graduates with bachelor's degrees go from school to work, those who continue their studies usually enroll in a master's or a professional program soon after graduation. Others, however, pursue studies at community colleges or technical institutes. During the 1990s, full-time postsecondary enrolment at Canada's publicly-funded colleges grew. Part of this growth was the result of young people with bachelor's degrees hoping to improve their career prospects by learning more job-specific skills at the college level.

According to the 1997 National Survey of 1995 Graduates, about 46% of people who had earned a bachelor's degree in 1995 had gone back to school within two years of graduating.¹ About 5% of bachelor's graduates entered a college program.² The evidence suggests that in subsequent years, even more members of the class of 1995 will pursue a college education. In an earlier group of university graduates, the class of 1990, the percentage who had enrolled in college programs after graduation doubled from 6% in 1992 (two years after graduation) to 13% in 1995 (five years after).

That university graduates may wait several years before enrolling in a college course is also suggested by data from other sources. The 1998 Adult Education and Training Survey shows that university attendance drops off quickly after age 24. In 1997, 41% of young bachelor's degree-holders under age 25 were still enrolled at university; the proportion fell to 14% of those aged 25 to 34, and stood at 6% for those aged 35 to 44. In contrast, the attendance rates of bachelor's

graduates enrolled in college programs, although small (3%), remained steady from age 25 to age 44.

College attendance of bachelor's graduates on the rise

In recent years, the percentage of university graduates who subsequently obtain a college diploma (within five years of university graduation) has doubled, from 3% of the Class of 1982 to 7% of the Class of 1990. This growth suggests that more young university graduates are supplementing their education with additional, and perhaps more marketable, skills obtained at college.

CST What you should know about this study

It is often difficult to assess the school-to-work transition of graduates who pursued additional studies within two years of graduation. At that time, many have had only a brief opportunity to find a full-time, high-paying, high-level job. For this reason, the 1995 Follow-up of 1990 Graduates Survey (FOG) was used to compare the labour market experience of two groups of graduates five years after graduation: the 2% of bachelor's graduates who obtained a college diploma within two years of getting their bachelor's¹ and the 36% of bachelor's graduates who did not pursue further studies after graduation. Statistics Canada conducted this survey of nearly 31,000 university, college and trade/vocational graduates during 1995, on behalf of Human Resources Development Canada.

1. Bachelor's graduates who obtained a college diploma within two years of obtaining their bachelor's degree would have had nearly three years to find a good job by the time they were interviewed for the FOG survey.

1. Includes graduates who have taken at least 20 hours of instruction between graduation and survey interview in 1997.

2. College programs include postsecondary level programs at community colleges, Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs), CEGEPs, technical institutes, non-degree granting colleges of art, hospital schools of nursing or radiology, and private business schools.

1990 bachelor's graduates from the social sciences (16%), health professions, sciences and technologies (15%) and agriculture and biological sciences (14%) were the most likely to pursue further studies at college. Even 10% of engineering graduates pursued a college education, usually taking business, computer science or engineering technology courses. Of 1990 university graduates continuing to college, most chose programs in commerce, management or business administration (22%), data processing or computer science (14%), nursing (9%) or medical lab technologies (8%).

The reasons cited by those who continue their education at the college level are usually labour market-related: to find a job, to get a better one or to improve their performance in their current job.

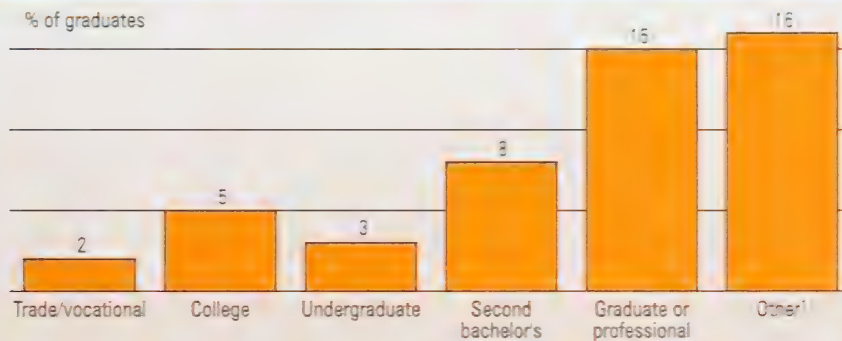
Does a college diploma help university graduates?

Many factors influence a young university graduate's success in the labour market: field of study, previous work experience, the demand for labour and job search skills. After accounting for differences in age, sex, field of study and previous education, 1990 bachelor's graduates who had obtained a college diploma by mid-1992 were just as likely to have a high income (top quartile) and a high-level job by 1995 as graduates who did not pursue further studies.³ Also, the odds of working full-time were about 1.4 times higher for bachelor's graduates who had received a college diploma than for those who did not pursue any studies after graduation.

Although these results indicate that a college education

may be helpful to some university graduates, there is no doubt that a university degree is much more valuable to college graduates. College graduates who subsequently obtained a bachelor's degree were much better off in the labour market than their college-educated colleagues who did not pursue further education. After accounting for several socio-demographic and education factors,⁴ the odds of being in the top income quartile were about 1.6 times higher, of being in a high-level job about 2.1 times higher and of working full time about 1.9 times higher than those of college graduates who did not pursue further studies.

CST 1995 bachelor's graduates who continued their studies usually returned to university

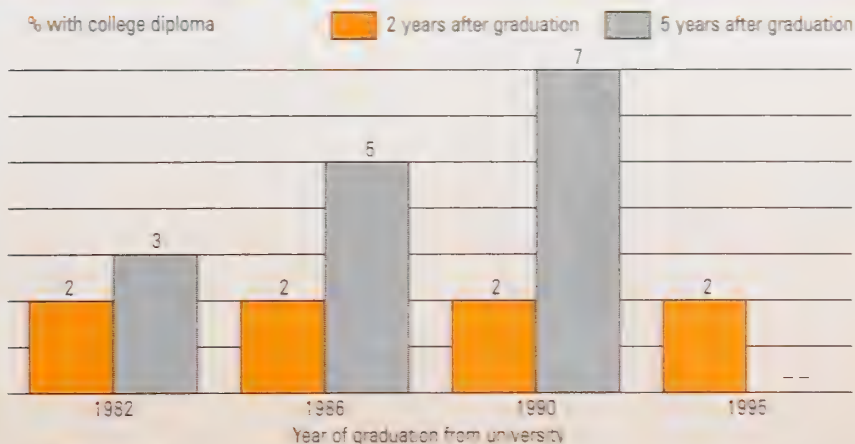


Note: 55% of bachelor's graduates did not pursue further studies.

1. Includes certification with a professional association (e.g., accounting, banking, insurance) and other training such as continuing education courses, first aid, fitness training, sign language and CPR.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Survey of 1995 Graduates, 1997.

CST A growing proportion of bachelor's graduates is obtaining a college diploma



-- Not available.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Graduates Surveys and Follow-up of Graduates Surveys.

3. High-level job refers to the six highest categories of the Pineo-Carroll-Moore socioeconomic classification of occupations including self-employed and employed professionals, semi-professionals, technicians, and senior and middle managers.

4. Age, sex, marital status, presence of children under age 5, field of study and education before entering the program.



Warren Clark is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

Visible minorities in Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal

by Jennifer Chard and Viviane Renaud

In the past few decades, the visible minority population in Canada has grown considerably. In 1996, 3.2 million people identified themselves as members of a visible minority group. They represented 11.2% of Canada's population, up from 9.4% in 1991, with Chinese, South Asians and Blacks comprising the largest groups. Growth in the size of the visible minority population is due mainly to changes in immigration patterns: about seven in ten visible minorities are immigrants, with almost half having arrived in the country since 1981 and one quarter between 1991 and 1996.¹

The increase in the number of visible minorities is particularly noticeable in larger metropolitan areas. Canada's major urban centres act as



Visible minorities represented 11% of the total population in 1996, with Chinese, South Asians and Blacks the largest groups

	Census Metropolitan Area			
	Canada	Toronto	Vancouver	Montréal
		%		
Total population ('000)	28,528	4,233	1,814	3,288
Visible minority population	11.2	31.6	31.1	12.2
Black	2.0	6.5	0.9	3.7
South Asian	2.4	7.8	6.6	1.4
Chinese	3.0	7.9	15.4	1.4
Korean	0.2	0.7	0.9	0.1
Japanese	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.1
Southeast Asian	0.6	1.1	1.1	1.1
Filipino	0.8	2.3	2.2	0.4
Arab and West Asian	0.9	1.7	1.0	2.2
Latin American	0.6	1.5	0.8	1.4
Visible minority, n.i.e. ¹	0.2	1.1	0.4	0.1
Multiple visible minority ²	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.1

1. Not included elsewhere. Includes Pacific Islanders and other respondents likely to be in a visible minority group.

2. Includes respondents who reported more than one visible minority group.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

1. Immigration has been the biggest contributor to the rapid growth of the visible minority population, but it is important to remember that some visible minority groups have long histories in this country. According to the 1996 Census, about two in three Japanese (65% or 44,000) and two in five Blacks (42% or 241,000) were born in Canada. As well, large numbers of Chinese (207,000) and South Asians (192,000) are Canadian-born.

important gateways for immigrants, who are drawn to these cities by family and community ties as well as by economic opportunities. In 1996, almost three-quarters of Canada's visible minority population lived in either Toronto (42%), Vancouver (18%) or Montréal (13%). These cities have been quickly transformed into increasingly vital components of Canada's cultural mosaic, each with its own distinctive composition: while Toronto has the greatest diversity of visible minority groups, Vancouver is known for its prominent Asian community and Montréal has attracted the largest number of French-speaking visible minorities.

One in three Toronto residents are visible minorities

Toronto has both the highest concentration of immigrants and the highest concentration of visible minorities in Canada, making it the nation's most diverse Census Metropolitan Area

(CMA). Toronto was home to 1.3 million visible minorities in 1996. They represented 32% of the total population, with Chinese (335,200) and South Asians (329,800) the two biggest groups — each comprising 8% of the total population — followed by Blacks at 6% (274,900). In fact, the CMA of Toronto was home to the largest number of each of Canada's visible minority groups, except for Arabs and West Asians, and Japanese.

Recent immigrants in particular have shaped the cultural landscape in Toronto, since almost 80% are members of a visible minority group. Of the 441,000 immigrants living in the CMA who arrived between 1991 and 1996, three in five were born in Asia or the Middle East. The top five places of birth were Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, the People's Republic of China, the Philippines and India.

Among Toronto's visible minorities, there are considerable differences

in immigrant status and age. Nearly seven in ten Japanese and four in ten Blacks were born in Canada, compared with less than 25% of all other visible minority groups. More than four in ten Blacks, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans and South Asians were under the age of 25, while about three in ten Chinese and Japanese were in this age group — similar to the total population of Toronto (33%).

Scarborough has highest proportion of visible minorities in the nation

Within the Toronto CMA, some municipalities stand out as having particularly large visible minority populations.² Scarborough had the highest concentration in Canada, with over half (52%) of the population belonging

2. Since most census subdivisions follow the boundaries of municipalities or townships, this article uses "municipalities" as a synonym.

Largest visible minority groups in selected census subdivisions, 1996
Toronto Census Metropolitan Area

Richmond Hill	
Chinese	20%
South Asian	4%
Black	2%

Brampton	
South Asian	13%
Black	8%
Chinese	2%

Etobicoke	
Black	9%
South Asian	9%
Chinese	2%

Mississauga	
South Asian	11%
Black	6%
Chinese	5%

York	
Black	13%
Latin American	4%
South Asian	4%

North York	
Chinese	9%
Black	8%
South Asian	8%

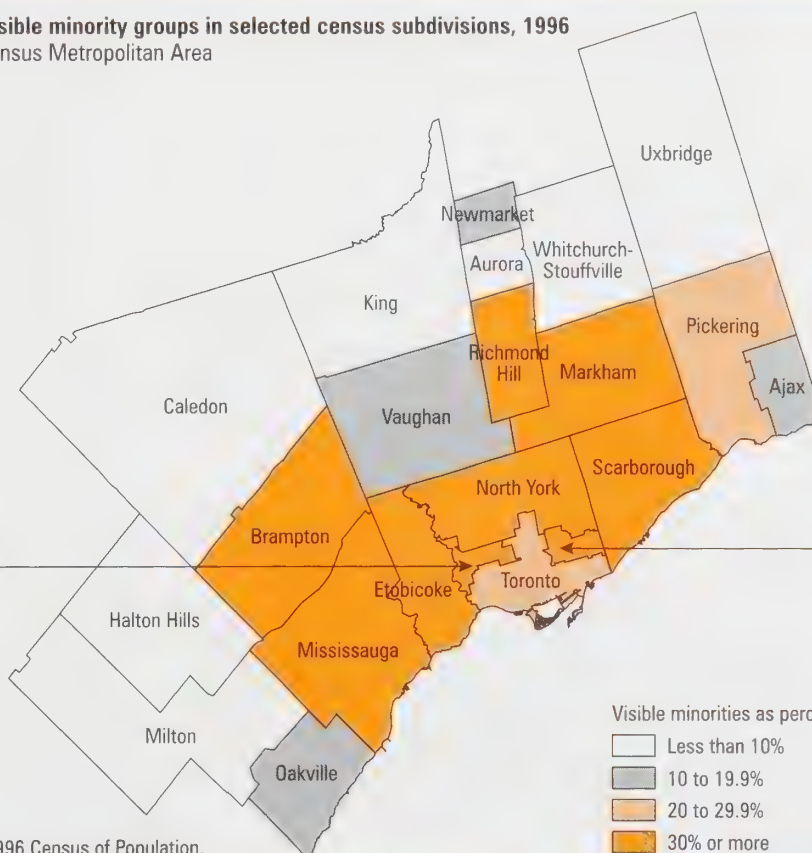
Markham	
Chinese	25%
South Asian	9%
Black	4%

Pickering	
Black	7%
South Asian	5%
Chinese	3%

Scarborough	
Chinese	17%
South Asian	14%
Black	10%

Toronto	
Chinese	9%
Black	5%
South Asian	4%

East York	
South Asian	10%
Chinese	6%
Black	6%



Visible minorities as percent of total population

- Less than 10%
- 10 to 19.9%
- 20 to 29.9%
- 30% or more

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

	Total population	Visible minority population %
Scarborough, On.	554,525	52
Richmond, B.C.	148,150	49
Markham, On.	172,735	46
City of Vancouver, B.C.	507,930	45
North York, On.	584,675	40
Burnaby, B.C.	176,825	39
Saint-Laurent, Qc.	73,760	36
York, On.	145,785	34
Mississauga, On.	542,450	34
Richmond Hill, On.	101,480	33

Note: Excludes the University Endowment Area, British Columbia, which is also a census subdivision. The total population was 6,680, and it had a visible minority population of 35%.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

to a visible minority group, followed by Markham (46%), North York (40%), York (34%), Mississauga (34%) and Richmond Hill (33%). As well, about three in ten residents in East York (31%), Brampton (30%), Etobicoke (30%) and the city of Toronto (28%) were members of a visible minority group. Still, in some areas of Toronto, visible minorities comprised a very small proportion of the population, accounting for less than 5% of residents in several municipalities, including Caledon, Halton Hills and Georgina.

Chinese, South Asians and Blacks are the largest visible minority groups in almost all Toronto municipalities, though some areas have more diverse visible minority populations than others. In 1996, Scarborough and North York were among the most varied, with large proportions of Chinese, South Asian and Black residents. In comparison, Chinese were the predominant visible minority group in Markham and

Largest visible minority groups in selected census subdivisions, 1996
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

Richmond Hill, Blacks were the most numerous group in York and South Asians the largest in Mississauga.

The CMA of Vancouver is Canada's most Asian metropolitan area

Vancouver is home to several large Asian communities. A total of 565,000 residents, or 31% of the total population of the CMA, belonged to a visible minority group in 1996, with the Chinese accounting for about half. Vancouver's 279,000 Chinese represented 15% of all residents, while its 120,100 South Asians comprised the second largest group at 7%. Notably, Vancouver was home to the largest number of Japanese in Canada, as well as to the second largest numbers of Chinese, South Asians, Filipinos and Koreans.

The high level of Asian representation in Vancouver is not surprising, given patterns of immigration to the CMA. Four in five of Vancouver's 190,000 recent immigrants were from Asia, with Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, India, the Philippines, South Korea, and Viet Nam among the top ten birthplaces. About three-quarters of Chinese, Southeast Asians, Koreans and Filipinos living in Vancouver in 1996 were immigrants. In contrast, over half of Japanese (54%) and one-third of South Asians (34%) had been born in Canada.

Although visible minorities tended to be slightly older in Vancouver than in Toronto or Montréal, they were still young relative to the total population. About 30% of the CMA's population was under age 25 in 1996, compared with over 40% of South Asians, Southeast Asians, Koreans, Blacks and Latin Americans.

Richmond, City of Vancouver and Burnaby home to largest visible minority populations

Most municipalities in the Vancouver CMA have substantial visible minority populations. In particular, almost half the residents of Richmond (49%)

belonged to a visible minority group, as did 45% in the City of Vancouver, 39% in Burnaby, 29% in Surrey and 28% in Coquitlam. Unlike Montréal and Toronto, very few municipalities in Vancouver had visible minority populations of less than 5%.

In most municipalities, Chinese and South Asians were the largest visible minority group, followed by Filipinos or Koreans. The Chinese accounted for a very significant proportion of the population in Richmond, the City of Vancouver and Burnaby, while South Asians were the largest group in Surrey, Delta and New Westminster. Interest-

ingly though, Arabs and West Asians were the most numerous visible minority population in the City of North Vancouver.

Blacks are Montréal's largest visible minority group

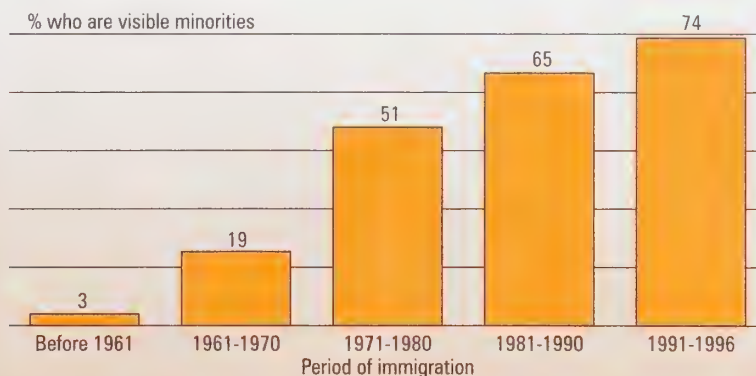
Montréal's visible minority population has its own distinctive composition. In 1996, 401,000 people, or 12% of the total CMA population, were visible minorities. Blacks were the largest group, numbering 122,300 and representing 4% of all residents, while Arabs and West Asians, with nearly 74,000 people, made up 2%. Montréal is home

CST

Growth in visible minority population fuelled by immigration

Since the 1970s, the sources of immigration to Canada have changed, with fewer immigrants entering from Europe. In addition, amendments to the *Immigration Act* in 1967 introduced a new universal points system for evaluating all applicants on an equal basis, regardless of their ethnic origin or place of birth. While earlier immigrants to Canada were mainly of European descent, newer arrivals are more likely to have been born in countries outside of Europe.

Today, Canada's newest residents tend to be Asian-born. Almost six in ten immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 1996 were from Asia, with Eastern Asia (for example, Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China) accounting for 24% and Southern Asia (for example, India and Sri Lanka) for 13%. Recent non-Asian immigrants were most likely to be from Europe (19%), Africa (7%), Central and South America (7%) or the Caribbean and Bermuda (6%). As a result, the proportion of visible minorities among immigrants has been increasing in the past two decades.



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

to the largest Arab and West Asian population in the country and the second largest Black, Latin American and Southeast Asian communities.

As in the other large metropolitan areas, immigrants have contributed to the growth of the visible minority population in Montréal; seven in ten recent

immigrants in the CMA were members of a visible minority group. Montréal has attracted a relatively large number of immigrants from countries where French is spoken. Between 1991 and 1996, almost 135,000 people immigrated to Montréal, with the most common places of birth being Haiti and Lebanon. Compared with Canada as a whole, Montréal has almost doubled its share of recent immigrants from West Central Asia and the Middle East, Africa and the Caribbean.

Among Montréal's largest visible minority groups, Blacks were most likely to be Canadian-born: nearly four in ten compared with fewer than two in ten Arabs and West Asians or Latin Americans. In fact, about 30% of Arabs and West Asians and Latin Americans arrived in Canada between 1991 and 1996.

Visible minorities in Montréal are younger than those in other CMAs, and are also younger than Montréal's

CST What you should know about this study

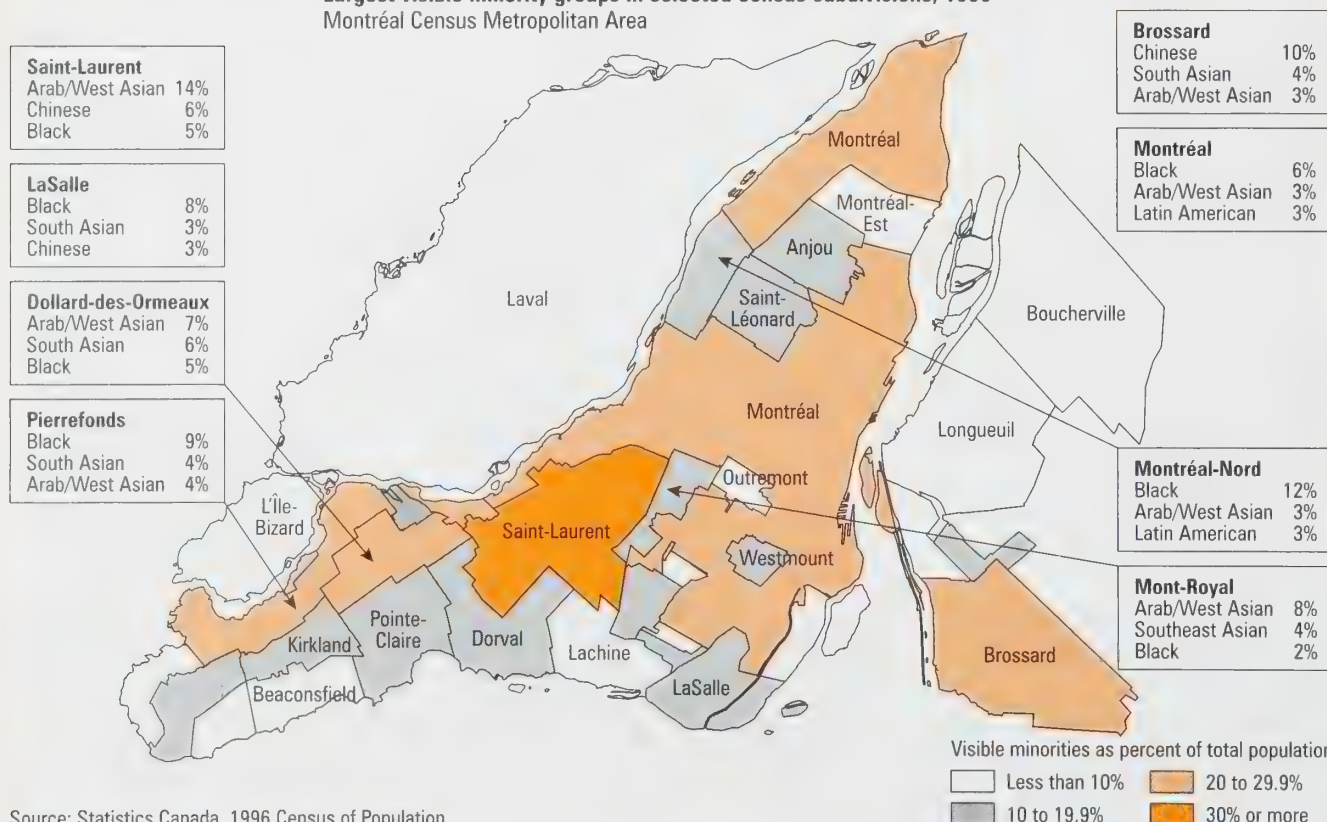
This article uses data from the Census of Population, last conducted in May 1996.

Visible minority population: the *Employment Equity Act* defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." In Canada, the visible minority population includes the following groups: Blacks, South Asians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Southeast Asians, Filipinos, Arabs and West Asians, Latin Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Immigrants: people who are, or have been at one time, landed immigrants in Canada. A landed immigrant is a person who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some are recent arrivals, while others have resided in Canada for a number of years.

Recent immigrants: people who immigrated to Canada between 1991 and 1996.

Largest visible minority groups in selected census subdivisions, 1996
Montréal Census Metropolitan Area



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

total population. While 32% of all Montréal residents were under age 25 in 1996, 42% of visible minorities were in this age group. Blacks and Latin Americans were the youngest — nearly half the members of each group were not yet 25 years old.

Visible minorities centered in municipalities on the island of Montréal

In Montréal, the visible minority population is more geographically centralized than in Toronto or Vancouver. For the most part, visible minorities are concentrated on the island of Montréal where they comprised 36% of residents in Saint-Laurent, 26% in Dollard-des-Ormeaux, 22% in Pierrefonds and 20% in the City of Montréal. In only one other municipality, the south shore community of Brossard, did visible minorities account for more than one-fifth of the population (26%).

Blacks and Arabs and West Asians were prominent in most municipalities. Both were among the largest visible minority populations in the city of Montréal, Saint-Laurent, Dollard-des-Ormeaux, Pierrefonds, Montréal Nord, Mont-Royal, Saint-Léonard and Roxboro. The Chinese, South Asian, Latin American and Southeast Asian groups were also a significant presence in many parts of the CMA, with the Chinese the largest group in Brossard.

The future

The visible minority population is expected to grow rapidly over the next few decades, the result of continuing high levels of immigration from non-European countries and a relatively youthful visible minority population. It is projected that by the year 2016, visible minorities will account for one-fifth of the Canadian population.³

The majority of this visible minority population is expected to continue to live in Ontario in 2016 (56%), with most of the remainder in British Columbia (18%) and Quebec (14%). Thus, Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal will likely become increasingly differentiated from other regions of Canada in terms of cultural diversity and the presence of visible minorities.

3. Statistics Canada. 1995. *Projections of Visible Minority Population Groups, Canada, Provinces and Regions, 1991-2016*. Product No. 91-541-XPE.



Jennifer Chard and Viviane Renaud are senior analysts with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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Eldercare in Canada: Who does how much?

by **Judith A. Frederick and Janet E. Fast**

Canada's aging population has raised concerns about our ability to care for ailing seniors. At the same time that demand for caregiving is increasing, the supply of informal caregivers is diminishing. Most women, who have traditionally performed these roles, are now in the paid workforce, dealing with the joint demands of job and family. In addition, later marriage and childbearing, declining fertility, and high divorce and remarriage rates are resulting in fewer adult children who are able to care for elderly parents in ill health. More frequent moves may also mean that many miles separate potential caregivers from family and friends in need.

These conditions have been accompanied by fiscal and economic restructuring of health and social services, as well as a change in philosophy about how best to meet seniors' needs. In particular, emphasis has shifted from the institutional care of chronic and long-term patients to community-based care, which depends heavily on caregiving assistance from family and friends. Using data from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS), this article looks at the people who are providing care to seniors with a long-term health problem, the factors that influence the amount of time they devote to eldercare, and the types of hardships they experience as a result of helping.

Women do the bulk of eldercare

In 1996, about 2.1 million Canadians looked after older family members or friends with a long-term health problem. More than two-thirds of informal caregivers were between the ages of 30 and 59; the average age was 46 years for women and 44 years for men. Not surprisingly, given their age, over two-thirds of caregivers were in the paid workforce, although women were considerably less likely to

CST What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS) on social and community support. The GSS interviewed nearly 13,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private dwellings in the ten provinces. Data were collected on the amount of time men and women spent caring for a relative or friend aged 65 and over with a long-term physical or health limitation. As well, respondents were asked how these caregiving responsibilities had affected their lives. This study is based on 1,366 caregiver/care receiver dyads.

The regression analyses were modelled on the findings published in the relevant literature. Earlier researchers have suggested that the amount of time people spend helping seniors is determined by three sets of factors: the characteristics of the caregiver; those of the care receiver; and the nature of the relationship between the two people, such as physical proximity and emotional closeness. The variables used in the regression analysis are: gender and age (as a proxy for illness) of care receiver; age, marital status, place of residence, education and employment status of caregiver, presence of children under 15, number of people being cared for, length of time providing care, primary caregiver status, relationship to care receiver, physical proximity and emotional closeness.

be employed outside the home. More than two-thirds were married and over one-quarter were also taking care of children under 15 years. Six in ten caregivers had been providing eldercare for more than two years, but only one-third were the primary caregiver; that is, someone who had the main responsibility for ensuring that the senior's needs were met.

Despite the influx of women into the paid workforce, in 1996 women still dominated the field of senior care. Not only did they represent the majority of informal caregivers (61% or 1.3 million), but they also spent much more time than men on care-related tasks (5 hours per week compared with 3). The reasons for these longer hours are fairly straightforward; many women were caring for more than two seniors (42% versus 34% of men) and women were considerably more likely to be the primary caregiver (39% versus 27% of men). Women were also more likely to be caring for a senior who was very ill.

The majority of caregivers looked after a parent or parents: 55% were caring for an elderly parent and 39% for a friend, sibling or other family member. It is surprising that only 1 in 20 were caring for a spouse.¹ Although the large majority of caregivers were looking after a senior living in the same neighbourhood or surrounding area, very few were caring for someone who actually lived with them: 16% of women and 11% of men.

Caregiving hours vary widely

The time spent on eldercare depends on many social and economic influences that determine caregivers' sense of duty and responsibility; in practical terms, it depends on their capacity to help. Although caregivers in general devoted an average of 4.2 hours per week to caring for seniors, the amount of time any individual spent varied enormously. With less free time, it is no surprise that caregivers employed full-time spent less than 3.5 hours per week on eldercare, while those who were not in the paid workforce spent almost 6 hours. On the other hand, most people providing care to more than one person devoted less time to eldercare than those who were responsible for only one person. And caregivers who had been providing care for more than two years dedicated fewer hours per week than those who had spent less than six months looking after a senior.

1. The literature indicates that a much larger proportion of people are providing care to spouses. Spousal care may have been undercounted by the GSS because respondents considered it to be part of their regular duties as a wife or husband, not a separate responsibility.

The characteristics of the senior receiving care also played a role in time spent on eldercare. Although all care receivers had a health problem, those who were so ill they had died in the 12 months preceding the survey required almost 10 hours of care per week; in contrast, less than 4 hours were needed by younger care receivers aged 65 to 74. And although very few caregivers were providing eldercare to a husband or wife, the amount given (16 hours a week) was three to five times greater than that dedicated to other family members, including a parent.

Significant predictors of caregiving hours differ for women and men

To identify the factors with a statistically significant effect on hours of caregiving, a stepwise regression was performed. This technique calculates the effect of a change in one variable, while holding the effect of all other variables constant. Since the characteristics of women and men caregivers are quite different, two separate models were run, with results showing that significant predictors of caregiving hours are not the same for women as for men.

For women, four characteristics affect hours of eldercare. Assuming all other factors remain constant, women who were primary caregivers spent an additional 3.6 hours per week on eldercare than those who were not. On the other hand, women providing care to a senior who lived outside the household devoted 8 to 10 hours less than those who looked after a senior in the home. Presumably, caring for someone with whom they are not living severely constrains the amount of time women are able to devote to the task.

The health of the care receiver also affects the time allocated to care, when all other factors are controlled for. Women helping seniors who had recently died had dedicated 4 more hours than those who were looking after someone younger and healthier. This is to be expected, since very ill seniors probably needed time-consuming palliative care.

The emotional quality of the relationship was also significant; women helping seniors they felt close to devoted nearly 3 hours more per week to the task, perhaps because emotional closeness instils a greater sense of obligation.

As was the case with women, primary caregiver status and the frailty of the senior are significant predictors of the hours that men spend on eldercare. Men who were primary caregivers spent an additional 2.5 hours per week on eldercare, while caring for a senior who was very ill demanded 5 more hours. However, most significant factors were different than those for women. The relationship to the care receiver was key for men: men who were looking

*Six in ten caregivers
have been providing eldercare for
more than two years*

	% of caregivers			Average hours per week		
	Total	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
TOTAL	100	100	100	4.2	5.0	3.0
Caregiver is employed full-time	56	47	71	3.4	4.2	2.6
... employed part-time	12	15	7	4.0	4.6	2.3
... not in labour force	32	38	22	5.8	6.2	5.0
Caregiver is a primary caregiver	34	39	27	8.0	8.8	6.2
... not a primary caregiver	66	61	73	2.3	2.6	1.9
Caregiver is caring for spouse or partner	5	5	4	16.0	15.8	16.3
... for parent	55	57	54	4.5	5.2	3.4
... for sibling	4	4	3	4.4	5.4	2.5
... for other family member	16	16	17	3.0	4.1	1.3
... for friend	19	18	21	2.3	2.8	1.6
... for other	1	1	—	1.3	1.5	0.6
Caregiver feels very close to care receiver	52	55	47	5.7	6.4	4.5
... close	30	31	30	3.3	4.2	1.9
... does not feel close	18	15	23	1.7	1.8	1.6
Caregiver provides care for less than 6 months	13	14	13	5.3	7.1	2.4
... for 6 to 12 months	11	10	12	3.8	4.6	2.8
... for 1 to 2 years	16	16	15	4.7	4.2	5.5
... for more than 2 years	60	60	61	4.0	4.8	2.6
Caregiver is caring for one person	30	28	33	5.0	6.2	3.3
... for two people	32	31	33	4.0	5.4	1.9
... for three	19	21	15	3.4	2.9	4.5
... for four	12	12	13	5.1	6.2	3.5
... for five or more	8	9	6	3.2	3.2	3.3
Care receiver is aged 65 to 74	29	28	31	3.6	4.8	2.0
... aged 75 to 84	41	42	41	3.8	4.2	3.2
... aged 85 and over	18	18	19	3.4	4.4	2.0
... deceased in previous year	11	12	9	9.6	9.8	9.1
Care receiver lives in same household	14	16	11	12.3	13.7	9.3
... in same neighbourhood	50	50	51	3.3	3.8	2.5
... in surrounding area	22	22	23	2.8	3.4	1.9
... less than half a day away	10	9	12	2.6	2.1	3.3
... more than half a day away	4	4	4	2.5	4.0	0.5

— Sample too small to provide reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 General Social Survey.

after their wives spent 11 to 13 hours more per week on eldercare than those providing care to anyone else. This probably reflects the affection and obligation men feel towards their wives, as well as the stark reality that no one else is as readily available to help.

The effect of months already spent providing care is quite pronounced. After controlling for other factors, men with one to two years' caregiving experience allocated 2 hours more per week than men who had been caregiving for less than 6 months, perhaps because they were helping someone whose needs had escalated over time. Marital status also proved to be important, since widowers spent 4 hours more per week on eldercare. And as the number of persons being cared for increased, so did the amount of time men devoted to the task: 36 minutes per week for each additional person.

Although the findings of the regression analysis are useful and interesting, they explain only part of the variation in the time spent caregiving by women (25%) and by men (35%). These results are typical of social science research, and suggest that not all the best predictors of caregiving are demographic or socioeconomic. Rather, they are more complex interpersonal elements that may be impossible to capture in a quantitative survey.

The more help caregivers provide, the more stressed their lives become

Although helping an elderly parent, other family member or friend is generally an act of love, it can be stressful and time consuming. Often it conflicts with the caregiver's other obligations or with activities that she or he would like to pursue. From questions that caregivers were asked about the effect of eldercare on their own lives, a set of "consequences indices" was constructed.² Then, a number of regressions were run to determine whether the number of hours devoted to care had a significant effect on those four key areas of the caregiver's life.

Not surprisingly, the highest level of psychological and emotional burden was experienced by those caregivers who spent the most time providing care. Difficulty balancing work and family, lack of free time, wishing that someone else would take over, and anger with the person they were looking after were some of the concerns expressed by caregivers. Most women (83%) and men (89%) who spent 7.5 hours or more per week helping seniors reported some level of burden. And with every extra hour of care, the level of

stress climbed: women's score on the burden index increased by 0.4% and men's by 0.6%.

Providing care often imposes substantial restrictions on social activities, holiday plans, finances and sleep patterns. Some 45% of women and 54% of men who provided at least 7.5 hours of care a week reported that at least three of these four elements had changed as a result of their eldercare responsibilities. For every additional hour of care provided, both women's and men's scores on the social consequences index increased by 0.8%.

The economic consequences of caregiving — putting off plans to enrol in education or training, declining a job offer, turning down a job transfer or promotion — were sig-

nificant for men but not for women. The percentage of men reporting that their obligations had delayed their plans escalated from 5% to 34% as care demands rose from less than 2

to over 7.5 hours per week. In fact, every additional hour of care provided to a senior raised men's score on the postpone index by 1.2%. Such lost opportunities can result in lifelong disadvantages in terms of employment, income and pension contributions.

It seems reasonable to assume that caregivers who do more would feel less guilty about not doing enough. Interestingly, this was not true of women, but it was the case for men. The more time men spent caregiving, the less likely they were to feel that they should be doing more or that they could do a better job. For example, 65% of men who spent less than two hours a week providing care experienced high levels of guilt, but just 52% of those who spent over 7.5 hours felt this way. For every additional hour of eldercare, men's score on the guilt index declined by nearly 1%. In contrast, additional hours of caregiving did not have a significant effect on women's score on the guilt index.

Summary

Although this article does not examine all factors associated with the time people spend on eldercare, it is possible to draw some conclusions about Canada's caregivers. In general, committed caregivers devote more time when a greater need exists. Women who spent the most time helping seniors were primary caregivers who cared for dying relatives, lived with them, and were emotionally close to them. Similarly, the men who devoted most time to these tasks also were primary caregivers looking after their wives.

For both men and women, longer hours of care resulted in greater emotional and psychological burden and greater personal consequences. But only men reported feeling less guilt the more time they spent caregiving. And men were

*Men looking after their wives
spend 11 to 13 hours more
per week on eldercare*

2. The consequences indices include the emotional and psychological burden index, the social index, the postpone index and the guilt index.

much more likely to postpone educational and job opportunities to fulfil their caregiving obligations — something that may profoundly affect their current and future financial situation.

It is fair to say that all stakeholders — caregivers, seniors, and government — prefer community care to institutional care for seniors. However, the current trend to community-based care, combined with the diminishing availability of informal caregivers, increases the risk of burnout for caregivers. Paradoxically, caregiver burnout may lead to the very outcome that everyone is trying to avoid: a greater need for institutionalization.

Programs and policies that assist with eldercare may help those caregivers most at risk of burnout. Similarly, home-care training and more readily available family-related leave from work may increase caregivers' competency and time, thereby reducing some of the stress associated with eldercare.

This article is adapted from *Eldercare in Canada: Context, Content and Consequences*, Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-570-XPE.



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	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
ECONOMY									
<i>Annual % change</i>									
Gross Domestic Product	3.3	0.8	2.2	3.8	5.9	5.2	3.3	4.8	2.5
Total personal income	7.3	3.3	2.6	2.0	2.0	4.0	2.2	3.7	4.0
Expenditures on goods and services ¹	1.3	-1.4	1.8	1.8	3.1	2.1	2.5	4.2	2.8
Consumer Price Index ²	4.8	5.6	1.5	1.9	0.2	2.2	1.6	1.6	1.0
Saving rate (%)	9.5	9.5	10.2	9.5	7.6	7.4	5.4	2.1	1.2
Prime lending rate	14.06	9.94	7.48	5.94	6.88	8.65	6.06	4.96	6.60
5-year mortgage rate	13.35	11.13	9.51	8.78	9.53	9.16	7.93	7.07	6.93
Exchange rate (with U.S. dollar)	1.167	1.146	1.209	1.290	1.366	1.372	1.364	1.385	1.484
ENVIRONMENT									
Number of days with airborne particles exceeding objectives (Canada average)	4.7	8.2	6.6	6.1	—	—	—	—	—
Number of hours ground-level ozone exceeded objectives (Canada average)	8.8	14.8	4.9	3.1	6.5	—	—	—	—
Number of days per year air quality rated as poor									
CMA of Toronto	16	29	9	12	14	14	—	—	—
CMA of Montréal	3	4	6	3	3	5	—	—	—
CMA of Vancouver	2	7	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Billions of public transit passengers	1.48	1.43	1.41	1.38	1.35	1.37	1.35	1.38	—
% of class 1 farmland used by urban areas	—	9.9	—	—	—	—	11.2	—	—
JUSTICE									
Rate per 100,000 population									
Total Criminal Code offences	9,454	10,313	9,982	9,467	9,042	8,913	8,828	8,355	—
Property offences	5,593	6,143	5,870	5,534	5,209	5,236	5,213	4,817	—
Violent offences	970	1,056	1,078	1,074	1,038	998	990	980	—
Other Criminal Code offences	2,891	3,114	3,034	2,860	2,795	2,678	2,625	2,558	—
Average days to process case through courts									
Adults	—	—	—	—	135	141	148	157	—
Youths ³	—	—	101	112	111	118	117	105	—
Average length of sentence per case									
Adults (days in prison)	—	—	—	—	125	132	137	142	—
Youths (days of open and secure custody)	—	—	92	92	88	82	79	74	—
CIVIC SOCIETY									
Voter turnout in federal elections	—	—	—	69.6	—	—	—	67.0	—
% of eligible foreign-born holding citizenship	—	81.0	—	—	—	—	83.0	—	—
Attendance at heritage institutions ('000) ⁴	—	113,785	108,836	108,194	111,236	—	—	—	—
Government expenditures on culture and heritage (millions\$) ⁵	—	—	4,631	4,606	4,532	4,520	—	—	—
% attending religious services at least several times a year	54	54	56	52	54	51	50	—	—
% of taxpayers making charitable donations	30	30	29	28	27	27	27	26	—
Average amount of charitable donations (current dollars)	545	567	586	610	634	647	728	808	—

— Data not available.

1. Data in 1992 dollars.

2. 1992 = 100.

3. Excludes Alberta.

4. Includes only not-for-profit institutions that have an educational and/or interpretive component: nature parks, historic sites, museums, archives and other institutions.

5. Excludes intergovernmental transfers. Data in 1986 dollars.

EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for "Seniors behind the wheel"

Objectives

- ☐ To explore the importance of driving for seniors
- ☐ To consider Canadians' dependence on the car

Method

1. Read the article, "Seniors behind the wheel," and list at least four transportation issues that differentiate the situation of rural or small town and urban seniors.
2. A neighbour is recently widowed. Since her husband used to do all the driving and she doesn't feel comfortable sitting behind the wheel, she has chosen to sell the family car. Can you suggest some transportation options for her? She will regularly need to go to the grocery store, seniors' club and doctor. She will also want to visit her grandchildren and friends.
3. Why do you think senior men are more likely than senior women to drive? Predict if this situation will continue in the future. Explain your answer.
4. Do you agree with mandatory medical examinations for senior drivers? What should they be tested for? The requirements for medical and other tests vary from province to province. Why is that so?
5. Do you think seniors are safer drivers than 16- to 24-year-olds? How would you measure "safe driving"? What are some of the differences and similarities between the driving habits of individuals in these age groups?
6. Take a quick poll of students in the class to find out how many have a car in their family. Some teenagers are allowed use of the family car. How should they share the responsibility of paying for insurance, gas and maintenance?

Using other resources

- ☐ *Canada's Changing Retirement Patterns: Findings from the General Social Survey*. 1996. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-546-XPE.
- ☐ *A Portrait of Seniors in Canada*. 1997. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-519-XPE.
- ☐ "Seniors 75+: Living arrangements and lifestyle." *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1993.
- ☐ "Behind the wheel: Canadians and their cars." *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1994.

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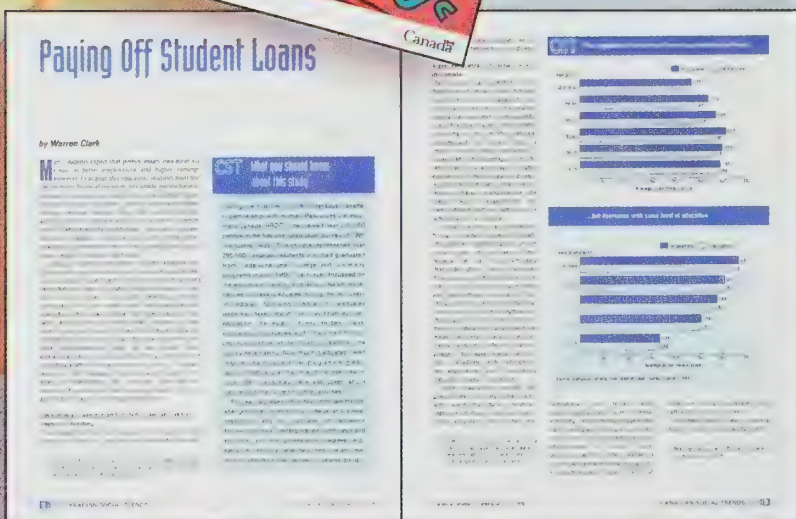
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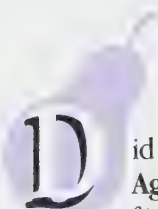


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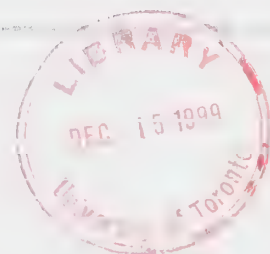
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Cover Illustrator

Born in 1962 in Canton, China, **Jay Li** graduated from the Fine Art Academy of Guangzhou, China. During the past 10 years, he travelled around Europe and Australia to study and develop his oil painting. His works have been exhibited in several countries and he now resides in Ottawa.



Family characteristics of problem kids

by Kathryn Stevenson

The teacher calls about your eight-year-old son's behaviour — again. He used to be a carefree kid who had only been involved in the playground scuffles typical of young children. You thought he would grow out of it when he started school but, instead, his behaviour has become worse. Now he's getting into daily fights, steals from other children, and is frequently disruptive in class.

In 1995, about 20% of children aged 8 to 11 (173,000 children) displayed some form of inappropriately aggressive behaviour, known formally as conduct disorder. Boys were nearly twice as likely as girls to fall into this category: 26% versus 13%. Experts generally agree that children who exhibit aggressive tendencies are more likely than others to display this behaviour during their adolescence and into adulthood. In fact, recent studies have shown that 12- to 17-year-old youths charged with a federal offence had frequently exhibited behaviour problems as children.¹ Policy makers and researchers believe that identifying the factors that predispose children to develop conduct disorder is, therefore, the first of many steps involved in reducing crime.

Using data from the 1994-95 National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), this article examines the family circumstances of 8- to 11-year-old youngsters to assess the link between behaviour and certain family characteristics. Do children with conduct disorder, as many assume, live in low-income and lone-parent families? Do their parents use different child-rearing approaches than the parents of children who keep out of trouble? And does the age of the

mother or the number of siblings have any effect on the child's behaviour?

Parenting style makes the most difference

One of the most important influences in young children's lives is their family environment and the bond they establish with their parents — a bond closely affected by parenting practices. Most policy makers and crime prevention organizations recognize, and people intuitively acknowledge, the link between parents' and children's behaviour. In a recent public opinion survey, 64% of Canadians felt that poor parenting and broken homes were very important factors in crime.² The federal Department of Justice has identified positive child development as key to preventing children's future involvement in delinquent activities as youths or adults.³ And The National Crime Prevention Centre has stated that parenting practices that are "inconsistent,

1. For further information, see Sprott, J. and A. Doob. 1998. *Who Are the Most Violent 10 and 11 Year Olds? An Introduction to Future Delinquency*. Research paper no. W-98-29E. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada.

2. Environics Research Group. 1998. *Focus Canada Environics 1998-1*. Ottawa: Environics.

coercive or excessively permissive appear to maintain disruptive and aggressive behaviour in children. These practices, combined with insufficient monitoring, are associated with delinquency that begins before age 14 and persists into adulthood."⁴

Findings from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth support these conclusions. In fact, among all the variables examined in this study, parenting style appeared to have the strongest association with aggressive behaviour. This does not mean, however, that parents who use less-than-perfect child-rearing techniques from time to time — as all parents inevitably do — pay for their mistakes with delinquent kids. What makes the difference is the frequency with which the various parenting approaches are used.

Parents who employed ineffective, aversive, inconsistent or negative disciplining most of the time were significantly more likely to have children with behaviour problems than parents who utilized these approaches infrequently. For example, 63% of children whose parents very often used an ineffective technique exhibited conduct disorder, compared with 4%⁵ of children whose parents only rarely practised this kind of parenting style. When the effects of other family variables⁶ are held constant, the

CST What you should know about this study

This article is based on data from the 1994-95 National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY). The NLSCY is conducted by Statistics Canada every two years on behalf of Human Resources Development Canada. It is designed to develop a better understanding of the factors that contribute to a child's development over time.

The 1994-95 NLSCY collected information on more than 22,500 children from newborn to 11 years living in private residences in the 10 provinces (excluding Aboriginal children living on reserves). Interviews were held with the "person most knowledgeable (PMK)" about the child (usually the mother) to gather information about the children and their families; with teachers and principals about the child's scholastic development; and with 10- to 11-year-olds themselves to learn about their experiences with family, friends and school. Information will be collected about the same children every two years until they reach adulthood.

Conduct disorder: Although there is no generally accepted and consistent definition of conduct disorder, most experts agree that it is characterized by either physical or indirect aggression against persons or property, or a severe violation of societal norms.¹ This study uses the conduct disorder scale developed by the NLSCY, which incorporates such items as frequency of fighting, threatening people and bullying other children. Following the methodology established by Offord and Lipman,² children who scored in the highest 10% of the scale were identified as having conduct disorder. In this article, "conduct disorder" is used interchangeably with "aggressive behaviour" or "delinquent behaviour."

Parenting practices: based on questions parents answered about interaction with their child, the NLSCY developed scales for four different parenting practice categories.

Ineffective: often annoyed with child, telling child he/she is bad or not as good as others.

*Aversive:*³ raising voice when child misbehaves, using physical punishment.

Consistent: disciplining the same way for the same behaviours each time.

Positive: praising the child, playing together, laughing together.

Socioeconomic status (SES): the relative social position of a family or individual. For the NLSCY, SES was derived from the level of education of the PMK, the level of education of the spouse/partner, the prestige of the PMK's occupation, the prestige of the occupation of the spouse/partner and household income. The highest SES families were in the top quartile and the lowest SES families were in the bottom quartile.

3. Department of Justice Canada. 1998. *A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice*. Ottawa: Standing Committee, Justice and Legal Affairs.

4. National Crime Prevention Centre. 1997. *Preventing Crime by Investing in Families: Promoting Positive Outcomes in Children 6 to 12 years old*. Ottawa.

5. Subject to high sampling variability.

6. Other variables included in this model are aversive, positive and consistent parenting styles, lone-parent versus two parent families, number of siblings, mother's age at birth of child, mother's work status and the family's socioeconomic status.

1. Measuring conduct disorder among children is complicated by the lack of benchmark crime data and by the fact that parents may not be fully aware of their child's conduct or may be unwilling to admit their child's problem behaviour to interviewers.

2. Offord, David R. and Ellen L. Lipman. 1996. "Emotional and behavioural problems," *Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth* (Statistics Canada catalogue 89-550-MPE) Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada.

3. In the 1996-97 NLSCY, the scoring on this category was changed to reflect better parenting practices (e.g., calmly discussing problems, not using physical punishment) and the category was renamed the "rational parenting style."

Source: Statistics Canada, *National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth: Overview of Survey Instruments for 1994-95* (Report no. 95-02).

Children with conduct disorder

%

Parenting style used
Ineffective

Rarely	4 ¹
Sometimes	24
Very often	63

Aversive

Rarely	7
Sometimes	22
Very often	40

Consistent

Rarely	38
Sometimes	24
Very often	16

Positive

Rarely	27
Sometimes	19
Very often	14

1. Subject to high sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1994-95.

odds of children displaying delinquent behaviour were 36 times higher if their parents employed ineffective disciplining techniques very often rather than rarely.

Aversive parenting techniques were associated with similar child behaviour patterns. Nearly 40% of children with parents who frequently used an aversive style exhibited aggressive behaviour compared with only 7% of youngsters whose parents were rarely aversive. And when the effects of other factors were controlled for, children whose parents regularly employed aversive parenting practices were twice as likely to display conduct disorder as kids whose parents were rarely aversive.

On the other hand, consistent and positive parenting practices were associated with less aggressive behaviour in children. Among youngsters who received consistent parenting most of the time, 16% displayed conduct disorder, compared with 38% of children whose parents rarely used consistent methods. Similarly, although to a lesser extent, 14% of children whose parents interacted positively with them most of the time demonstrated delinquent behaviour compared with 27% of children whose parents adopted positive approaches only rarely. After accounting for other factors, the odds of children exhibiting conduct disorder were 1.6 times higher for those whose parents used consistent

parenting styles infrequently. The effect of positive parenting style alone was not significant when holding all other factors constant.

Staying at home full-time may not solve all problems

In order to develop strong bonds, children require consistent supervision.⁷ When both parents work outside the home, they tend to have less time to spend with their children. As a result, it is generally believed that children in families where a parent (usually the mother) is at home tend to grow up more secure, better adjusted and are less likely to exhibit behaviour problems. It may come as a surprise, then, that families where the mother was at home full-time had the highest proportion of children with conduct disorder (more than one in five). It is likely, however, that other variables, such as lone-parent status, influenced this outcome because lone mothers are often not employed in the workforce. To be sure, when all other family characteristics were held constant, the mother's work status proved not to be significant.

Parental education, income and job status, collectively referred to as socio-economic status (SES), are considered important variables influencing children's development.⁸ Past studies have shown that the higher the socioeconomic status of the family, the better off the children will be. Indeed, according to the NLSCY, proportionally fewer children from the highest SES families than the lowest SES families exhibited aggressive behaviour: 13% versus 28%. When all other variables were held constant, children from these lowest SES families were twice as likely to exhibit behaviour problems as children from the highest SES families.

Many reasons may account for these patterns: high SES families have higher incomes, leading to more opportunities for children. Parents in these families also tend to be better

educated and may therefore be better equipped to foster an atmosphere of learning. In addition, the neighbourhoods these families live in probably boast higher quality schools, recreation facilities and social institutions, and offer peer groups whose similar norms and standards reinforce the parents' goals for their children.⁹

Children in lone-parent families exhibit more aggressive behaviour

Lone parents have often been identified as raising children with problem behaviours.¹⁰ Data from the 1994-95 NLSCY confirm that a larger proportion of children who lived with one parent displayed conduct disorder: about one-third of children with a lone parent demonstrated aggressive behaviour compared with less than one-fifth of those living with two parents. After holding all other factors constant, the odds of children in lone-parent families exhibiting delinquent behaviour was twice as high as the odds of those in two-parent families.

Again, complex reasons lie behind these patterns. A large percentage of lone-parent families live in low income situations. For many, enrolling their children in extra-curricular activities is simply not an option. As a result, these children may have more unstructured and unsupervised free time, and thus

CST Many factors influence child behaviour

The table below presents the odds of children with particular family characteristics exhibiting conduct disorder, relative to the odds that a benchmark group will do so, when all other variables in the model are held constant (odds ratio). The benchmark group is shown in *italics* for each characteristic. A logistic regression model was used to isolate the effect of selected family variables on the child's behaviour.

	Odds ratio
Parenting style used	
Ineffective	
Very often	36.1
Sometimes	6.7
<i>Rarely</i>	1.0
Aversive	
Very often	2.1
Sometimes	1.6
<i>Rarely</i>	1.0
Positive	
<i>Very often</i>	1.0
Sometimes	1.1 *
Rarely	1.3 *
Consistent	
<i>Very often</i>	1.0
Sometimes	0.9 *
Rarely	1.6
Number of parents in household	
One parent	2.0
<i>Two parents</i>	1.0
Number of siblings	
<i>None</i>	1.0
One	1.6
Two or more	2.6
Mother's age at birth of child	
14-20	1.1 *
21-29	1.0
30 and over	0.7
Mother's work status	
Full-time	1.1 *
Part-time	0.9 *
<i>Not in paid workforce</i>	1.0
Socioeconomic status of family	
Lower	2.0
Middle-lower	1.3 *
Middle-higher	1.2 *
<i>Higher</i>	1.0

* Not statistically significant.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1994-95.

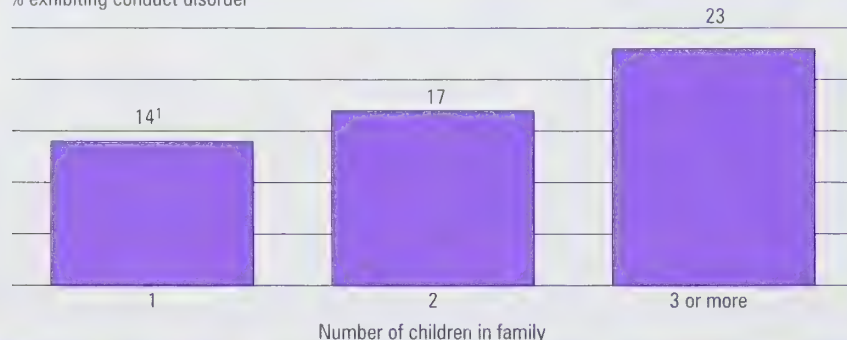
7. Sacco, V. and L. Kennedy. 1994. *The Criminal Event*. Scarborough: Nelson Canada.

8. National Crime Prevention Centre. op. cit.

9. Corak, M. 1998. "Getting Ahead In Life: Does Your Parents' Income Count?" *Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 1998."

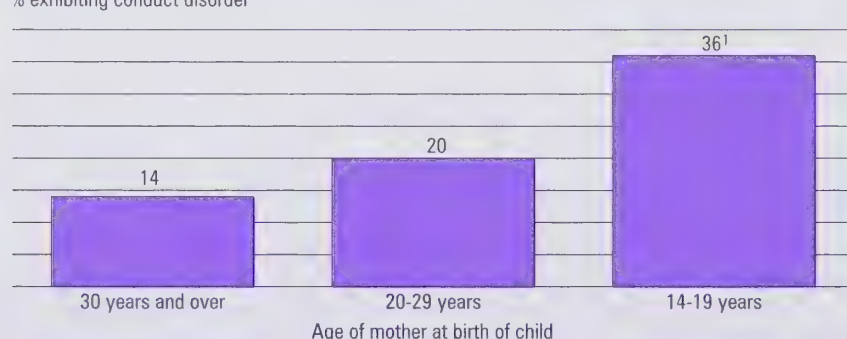
10. Lipman, E. L., D. R. Offord and M. D. Doolley. 1996. "What do we know about children from single-mother families? Questions and answers from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth," *Growing up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth* (Statistics Canada catalogue 89-550-MPE) Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada.

% exhibiting conduct disorder



... and among children born to teenage mothers

% exhibiting conduct disorder



1. Subject to high sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Longitudinal Survey on Children and Youth, 1994-95.

become more vulnerable to negative influences.¹¹ Also, parents who raise their children alone report higher levels of stress and fatigue, factors which tend to make parenting more difficult.

The number of siblings also appears to influence the child's behaviour. Children without brothers or sisters were the least likely to exhibit aggressive behaviour. As the number of siblings climbed, so did the frequency of conduct disorder, from 14%¹² of those who were lone children to 23% of those with two or more siblings. When the effect of other factors was controlled for, children with two or

more siblings were 2.6 times more likely to display conduct disorder than those who had no brothers or sisters.

Finally, it seems that the younger a mother was when she gave birth, the higher the likelihood that her children will display delinquent behaviour. Nearly 36%¹³ of kids born when their mother was a teenager (14 to 19 years old) exhibited conduct disorder, compared with 20% of children whose mother was between 20 and 29, and 14% of those whose mother was at least 30 years old. The higher probability that teenagers will have children with conduct disorder may not be related to

age, but to other variables, such as lack of support and stability, along with low income, that are often a fact of life for young mothers. When other factors were held constant, being a teenage mother had no significant effect on the child's behaviour.

Summary

There is much public debate about the relationship between family characteristics and children with conduct disorder. Results of the 1994-95 National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth suggest that an ineffective parenting style is the strongest predictor of delinquent behaviour in children between the ages of 8 and 11 years. In addition, aversive and inconsistent parenting techniques, lone-parent status, low socioeconomic status, and number of siblings are also associated with a higher probability of children exhibiting conduct disorder.

These findings offer a starting point for further research. The NLSCY provides policy-makers, community workers and researchers with the tools required to examine many commonly held beliefs about the factors associated with raising a child with delinquent tendencies.

Kathryn Stevenson is an analyst in Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

11. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. 1998. *A Profile of Youth Justice in Canada* (Statistics Canada catalogue 85-544-XPE)

12. Subject to high sampling variability.

13. Subject to high sampling variability.

Plugged into the Internet

by Paul Dickinson and Jonathan Ellison

Have you ever wondered why your neighbours' phones are always busy? It may be because they are surfing the Internet. More and more Canadians are now using the Net to stay in touch with each other, to bank, to shop, to research a topic for a school project, to browse for information, to play games, or to make travel plans. Conquering the limitations of geographic location, the Internet could change the lives of people as much as the telephone did in the early 20th century and television in the 1950s and 1960s.

Whether it will improve or harm participation in community life and social relationships is yet to be seen. But like it or not, the Internet is here to stay. In 1998, there were 4.3 million households in Canada (36% of all households) in which at least one member used computer communications regularly. This compared with 3.5 million households in 1997.¹ Household members may access the Internet from many locations: a child or teenager at school, a public library or a friend's house; a mother or father at work; a student at the university residence or perhaps at a cybercafé.

Ultimately, many people obtain access to the Internet from home. In fact, people were just as likely to use the Net from home as from the workplace, with home-use showing the largest growth between 1997 and 1998. Furthermore, those who used the Net at home did so frequently: 95% more than once a week.

E-mail most popular use of the Internet at home

Without doubt, e-mail was the most widely used application of home users: 86% households plugged into the

Internet used e-mail. The advantages of communicating electronically are many. In seconds, messages can be sent around the world to family members, friends or business colleagues. Digital photos can be appended to mail messages, thus making distribution of family photos easy. E-mail enables employees to work at home and still stay in contact with a central office, thereby reducing commuting time and providing a more family-friendly work environment. E-mail also keeps people with similar interests in

GST

What you should know about this study

Statistics Canada first conducted the Household Internet Use Survey (HIUS) in October 1997 to collect detailed data about the use of the Internet by Canadian households. The survey was repeated in October 1998. The HIUS collected information from one household member about the Internet activities of the entire household. Over 38,000 respondents in private households were interviewed in 10 provinces.

Regular user: Households with at least one person who uses computer communications during a typical month, whether at home, work, school, public library or other location.

Income quartile: Total number of households divided into four equal parts sorted by household income. The top quartile is the 25% of households with the highest incomes; the bottom quartile is the 25% with the lowest incomes.

1. Households stating that they had ever used computer communications rose to 46% in 1998 from 38% in 1997.

touch: they can share information about a hobby, distribute special interest newsletters, or provide personalized editions of the daily news.

The Internet also has a wealth of information on nearly every topic imaginable. Government agencies, universities and colleges, libraries, banks, newspapers and magazines, businesses and maybe even your neighbours have web sites describing their products, services, programs, interests and opinions. It is little wonder, then, that searching for

information, and general browsing, were the second and third most common uses of the Internet for home users.

Although Internet shopping is becoming more popular, only one in 10 Internet-using households made purchases via computer at home (3% of all households). This low level of e-commerce may reflect consumer concerns over the security of credit card transactions on the Internet or perhaps the need by some consumers to see, feel or smell goods before they decide to buy.

CST

Well-educated, high-income households were most likely to use the Internet

Households using the Internet

	1997	1998
	%	
All households	29	36
Household income		
Bottom quartile	12	13
Second quartile	18	24
Third quartile	33	42
Top quartile	54	65
Education level of household head		
Less than high school graduation	9	13
High school graduation/some postsecondary/ postsecondary ¹	31	37
University degree	60	68
Age of household head		
Less than 35	38	45
35 to 54	39	47
55 to 64	21	28
65 and over	6	7
Family type		
One person household	16	20
Single family, without children under 18	28	34
Single family, with children under 18	38	48
Multi-family household	44	46

1. College or trade/vocational diploma or certificate.

Source: Statistics Canada, Household Internet Use Survey.

High-income households more likely to use the Internet

The use of computer communications is closely related to the socioeconomic status of the household. In 1998, the highest regular Internet use (65%) was among individuals living in households in the top income quartile and among households where the head had a university degree (68%). In contrast, Internet use was far lower in the bottom quartile (13%), and in households where the head had not graduated from high school (13%). Members of the top income and education households were more likely to use the Internet at work, school, public libraries and other places (as well as at home) than persons living in households with lower income or less education. Nevertheless, even among households in the lowest income quartile, Internet use grew, with 7% using it at home, 6% at school, 4% at work and 3% at a library in 1998.

Younger generation more connected

As with other household technologies, Internet use varies not just with income but also with the generations.² Overall, Internet use was highest among households headed by a 35- to 54-year-old (47%). This is in part because middle-aged households have higher incomes. In the bottom three income quartile groups, households headed by someone under age 35 led in Internet use. After accounting for income differences,

2. Howatson-Leo, L. and A. Peters. 1997. "Everyday technology: Are Canadians using it?" *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1997.

young households and households with children under age 18 were more likely to be users of computer communications than older or childless households.

Other research shows that the biggest computer and Internet user in a family is most likely to be a teenager.³ This may be because young people have the most free disposable time. At the same time, parents may view Internet access as a way of preparing their children for the future and providing them with an advantage over peers who don't have access.⁴ Yet some parents are fearful that their children will give out personal information, view sexually explicit material or become isolated from other people.⁵

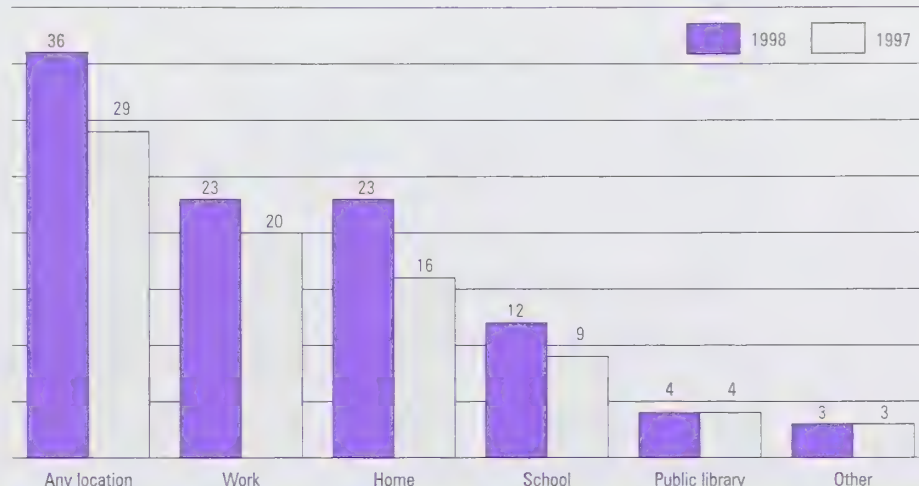
In contrast to high use in young households, only 7% of households headed by a senior used the Internet. Many seniors, at risk of social isolation after retirement and with the onset of physical disability, could benefit from access to Internet communities. However, most seniors did not use computers as younger adults and therefore did not acquire basic computer skills. In addition, many may be resistant to computer technologies and may not recognize the possible usefulness of the Internet.

Internet use highest in Ottawa

More than half of Canada's households are located in the 15 largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of the country. People living in these areas are generally more connected than those from smaller urban areas and rural communities. Ottawa⁶ is the most connected CMA, even though its Internet use did not change between 1997 and 1998. The population's high average levels of education and household income contribute to Ottawa's leadership in this area, as do the presence of the high-tech industry and the federal government, which provide Internet access to many of their employees. Household use of the Internet in all of the other large CMAs increased during the year, with the growth being particularly large in Calgary, Halifax, Victoria, Hamilton

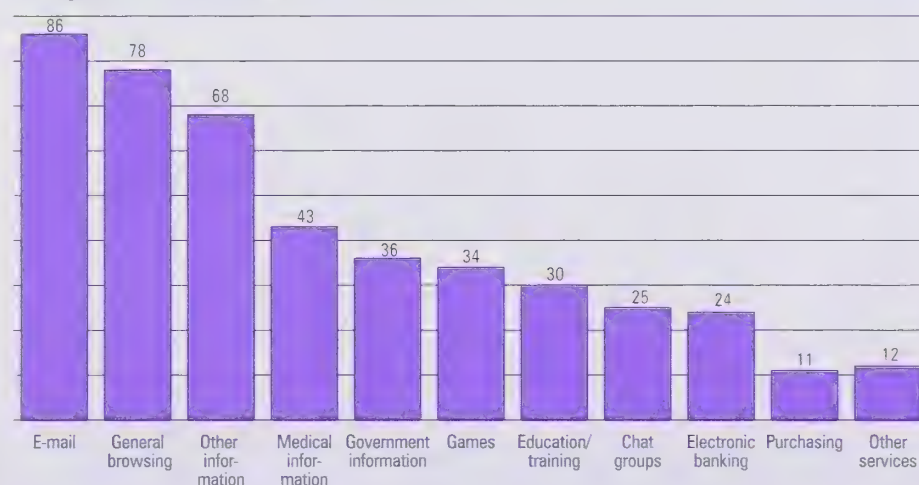
GST Internet use is growing fastest at home ...

% of all households with regular user



... and e-mail and general browsing are the most common uses

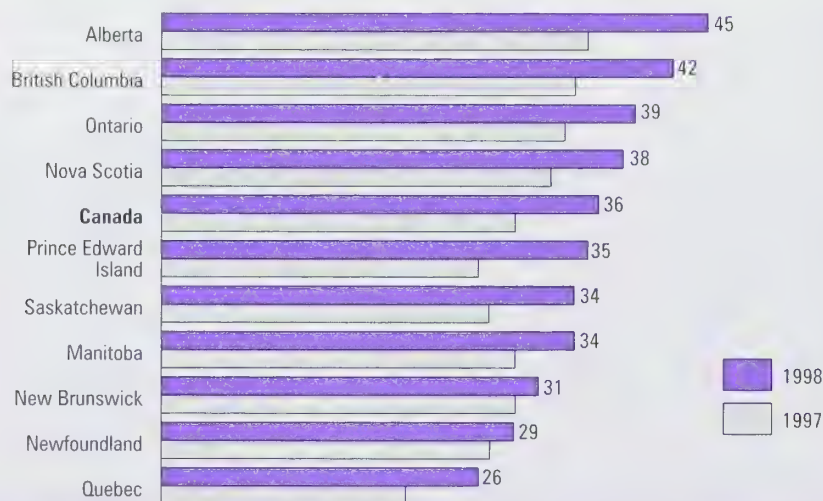
% of regular home user households



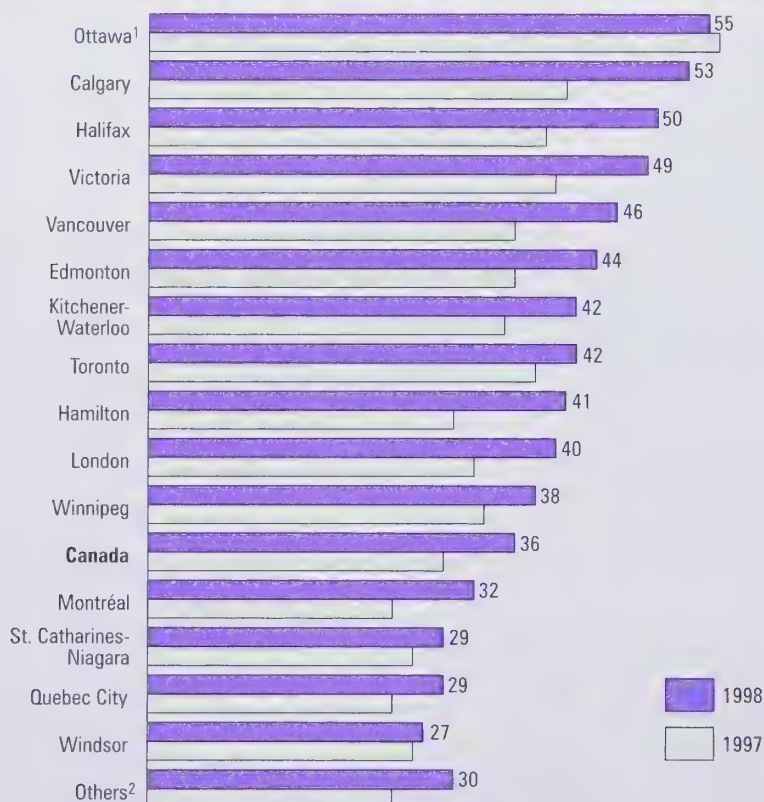
Source: Statistics Canada, Household Internet Use Survey.

- Tapscott, D. 1998. *Growing up Digital: The Rise of the Net Generation*. New York: McGraw-Hill. p. 48; and ACNielsen. 1998. *The ACNielsen Canadian Internet Survey '98*. (http://www.acnielsen.ca/sect_internet/internet_en.htm).
- Haddon, L. 1999. *European Perceptions and Use of the Internet*. Paper for the conference Usages and Services in Telecommunications, Arcachon, 7-9 June 1999.
- Turow, J. 1999. *The Internet and the Family: The View from Parents, the View from the Press*. The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania, report no 27. (<http://appcpenn.org/appc/reports/rep27.pdf>).
- Includes only the Ontario component of the census metropolitan area of Ottawa-Hull.

% of households using Internet regularly



and may be high in Ottawa¹ because of the presence of government and high-tech industries



1. Includes only the Ontario component of the CMA of Ottawa-Hull.

2. Includes households in smaller CMAs and households not in CMAs.

Source: Statistics Canada, Household Internet Use Survey.

and London. In addition, Internet access at schools increased everywhere, while access at public libraries grew in most locations.

• This article is adapted from "Getting connected or staying unplugged: The growing demand for computer communications services," *Service Indicators*, Volume 6, No. 1, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 63-016-XPB, 1st Quarter 1999.

Paul Dickinson is a consultant who teaches economics at McGill University, Montréal, and **Jonathan Ellison** is an analyst with Science, Innovation and Electronic Information Division, Statistics Canada.

Help close at hand: Relocating to give or receive care

by Kelly Cranswick

Caring for family members or friends with long-term health problems generally means stopping by to cook a meal, picking up groceries, or driving them to a doctor's appointment. In some instances, however, the care required is too complex or time-consuming to be carried out in a visit or the distances involved are too great. At times like this, one partner in the caregiving arrangement — the caregiver or the care-receiver — may move closer to, or move in with, the other. The commitment these new arrangements require has a strong impact on the lives of both the caregiver and the care-receiver.

GST

What you should know about this study

This article uses data from the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS) on social and community support. The GSS interviewed almost 13,000 Canadians aged 15 and over living in private dwellings in the 10 provinces. Data were collected on formal or informal help received in the previous 12 months due to a long-term health problem or physical limitation, or to a temporarily difficult time.

This analysis captures only informal care, defined as the unpaid performance of tasks by family and friends, which helps maintain or enhance people's independence. Specifically, informal care includes the following: assistance with personal care; meal preparation and clean-up; house cleaning, laundry and sewing; house maintenance and outside work; shopping for groceries or other necessities; providing transportation; banking and bill paying; and childcare.

Most caregiving moves involve a parent or a friend

Nearly half a million Canadians (470,000) moved in 1996, either to provide care to someone with a long-term health problem or to be looked after by someone else. More than 300,000 simply moved closer to each other, perhaps to the same neighbourhood or street. An additional 130,000 actually moved

in with the person they were helping or the person who was helping them. Some 40,000¹ people reported both types of moves, that is, they may have moved closer first and then moved right in, or vice versa.

1. Subject to high sampling variability.

	All caregivers	Caregivers involved in move
		%
Helping others resulted in ...		
changes in your social activities	45	76
changes in holiday plans	25	45
repercussions at work	50	61
changes in sleep patterns	29	46
extra expenses	44	59
changes in health	21	30

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1996.

Fully one-half of caregiving relationships involving a move entailed an adult child taking care of an ailing parent. This is not surprising, considering that the ties between parents and children are generally very strong. More unexpected, perhaps, is that nearly one out of five (18%) of these relationships involved helping friends, speaking to the strength of friendship ties. Siblings, in-laws and extended family were the care-receivers in the remainder of instances.²

One might expect that caregivers who moved, or who had care-receivers move close to them, would have few family responsibilities; however, the majority were married (62%) and over one-third (37%) had children under the age of 15. Just under half (49%) were between the ages of 35 and 54. Over half (55%) worked outside the home,³ while one-quarter (25%) worked at home raising children and keeping house. Most caregivers (69%) were women.

The recipients of these care providing activities were also mostly women (7 out of 10) and mostly seniors (58% were 65 years and over). This is to be expected, since long-term health conditions requiring a caregiver's assistance tend to occur in the senior years. Nine percent⁴ of care-receivers had died in the year preceding the survey, which indicates the severity of their long-term illness.

2. In a small number of cases, a move involved a caregiver and more than one care-receiver. In these cases it is not possible to know which of the care-receivers precipitated the move.

3. Includes a small percentage who were attending school.

4. Subject to high sampling variability.

Most relationships involved frequent contact

Caregivers who moved to help, or who had a care-receiver move close to them, were clearly committed to the relationship. Indeed, nearly half of caregivers (42%) saw their charges every day⁵ and more than one-third (37%) had contact with them once a week. In addition, despite the considerable impact these responsibilities have on caregivers' lives, some people were providing care to more than one person, as some 470,000 caregivers were helping out 575,000 care-receivers.

In busy lives, the additional responsibilities associated with caregiving inevitably lead to some disruptions. For those involved in a move, pressures in all areas of life were particularly pronounced.

Most notable were the changes in social activities, affecting 76% of caregivers involved in a move. Also significant were repercussions at work, with over 60% of people reporting that caregiving adversely affected some aspect of their job. Another substantial issue, raised by nearly 60%, was the financial cost of providing care to someone with a long-term health problem. Since many caregivers were married women with children, their care-taking responsibilities raise serious concerns about the potentially heavy burden placed on them.

5. This figure includes people who lived in the same household and were therefore assumed to see each other daily.

Kelly Cranswick is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



Self-employed hired fewer others

In 1998, nearly 2.5 million Canadians were working at their own businesses, more than double the number 20 years earlier. Although the rate of self-employment has risen steadily to about 16% in 1998, fewer self-employed Canadians hired paid help in the 1990s than in the 1980s. During the 1980s, total self-employment grew by 347,000 jobs: nearly two-thirds of this growth consisted of business owners who also hired employees, contributing to stronger growth in paid employment. This trend reversed itself in the 1990s, with nine out of ten of the 458,000 self-employed entrepreneurs working without any paid help, likely contributing to the weak growth in paid employment during much of the 1990s.

Analytical Studies Branch
Research paper no. 133
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Kids happy but testing the rules

More than nine in ten 12- and 13-year-olds are happy with the way things are in their lives. Just as many also said that their futures looked good. Nonetheless, as these young people enter adolescence, they have begun to test the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. Nearly one-third (31%) reported that at least once in the previous year they had stolen something from a store, school or from their parents; 41% had been in a fight or had threatened to beat someone up, but only 6% were in a fight with injuries serious enough to require care. Such behaviour was significantly influenced by peer relationships, with 15% stating that they belonged to a group that "did risky things." Risk-taking

was as much as six or seven times higher among youth who were members of such a group, as those who were not.

National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth
Special Surveys Division
(613) 951-7333



Radio listening rebounds

The number of hours Canadians spent listening to their radios rose slightly in Fall 1998, after four straight years of decline. Average listening time was 20.4 hours per week in 1998, but was still below the most recent high of 21.6 hours in 1993. Although every province reported increases, the most avid listeners were in Quebec, Prince Edward Island and Alberta, all at 21.3 hours per week. Residents of British Columbia and New Brunswick tuned in for only 18.6 and 18.7 hours per week, respectively. Anglophone Quebecers listened more than all other Canadians — 23.7 hours per week, or 2.5 hours more than francophone Quebecers.

Culture Statistics Program
Culture, Tourism and the Centre for Education Statistics
(613) 951-3136



Teens whose parents divorce delay marriage, more likely to divorce

A study that tracked 122,500 teenagers between 1982 and 1995 concluded that teenagers whose parents divorced were more likely to delay marriage and to have their own marital problems later in life. Teenagers with a divorce in their background put off marriage, with about 40% of men and 54% of women whose parents divorced marrying by their late 20s and early 30s. In contrast, 50% of men

and over 60% of women raised in families where there had been no divorce were married by the same age. These former children of divorce also experienced higher levels of divorce and separation themselves; 25% of men had divorced or separated, as had 30% of women. Among those whose parents had not divorced the rates were 17% and 21%, respectively.

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Births to first-time mothers over 30 increase

The last decade has seen a marked increase in women having their first child at or over the age of 30. They accounted for 19% of first-time mothers in 1987, but for 31% by 1997. Women in their twenties still accounted for the majority of first births, but their share slipped to 58% from 70% in 1987. Women 30 and older also significantly increased their share of total births to 44% from 31% in 1987. The proportion of births to women in this age group increased in all provinces and territories. Ontario led the national trend in 1997, with 50% of all mothers 30 and over, surpassing even women in their twenties (45%).

Health Statistics Division
Client Custom Services
(613) 951-1746



First national survey of alternative measures for young offenders

In 1997/98, about 33,000 young offenders (aged 12 to 17) participated in Alternative Measures programs that offer non-judicial, community-based methods of redress instead of the traditional

court process. The most serious offence in the majority of alternative measures cases (70%) was a property-related crime. Almost 64% of participants were male. Some 22% of cases involved youth performing community service. In 18% of cases, offenders formally apologized to their victim. Other methods, such as financial compensation to a victim, educational sessions and essays, or presentations related to the offence, accounted for 13% of cases. The vast majority of young people (89%) in these programs successfully finished their agreements and had their files closed.

Juristat
Vol. 19, no. 8
Statistics Canada
Catalogue 85-002-XPE or 85-002-XIE



Adults upgrade with education and training

More than 6 million Canadians, or 28% of adults, participated in adult education or training activities in 1997. Three-quarters of people were taking courses to maintain or improve their competitiveness in the labour market. Participation was greatest (39%) among those aged 17 to 34, and lowest (5%) for those over 65. Educational level also influenced the likelihood of participation: 48% for those with a university degree, but only 11% for those who had not completed high school. Some 20% of unemployed people participated in job-related education or training, compared with 29% of the employed. Paid workers were almost twice as likely to participate (32%), as were self-employed workers (18%). Close to one-quarter of the employed were taking advantage of employer-sponsored education or training opportunities.

Adult Education and Training Survey
Special Surveys Division
Client Services (613) 951-7355 or 1 (888) 297-7355

Mapping the conditions of First Nations communities

by Robin Armstrong

The majority of Registered Indians in Canada reside in approximately 900 small First Nations communities, which form a 5,000 kilometre archipelago across the Canadian landscape. Although many of these communities have much in common, they are by no means a homogeneous group. Separated by distance and differentiated by history, language and culture, individual communities often developed unique ways of life. Nearly all, however, have a substantially lower standard of living than the average Canadian community.

Comparing First Nations communities with each other reveals that living conditions in these communities vary considerably according to several factors. One of these factors is location. Regional differences in patterns of well-being — if indeed there are such patterns — may highlight some of the characteristics that are associated with these diverse living conditions. Using levels of schooling, employment rate, income and housing as indicators of well-being, this article examines the location of First Nations communities whose well-being is above average, average and below average. It then compares the living conditions of these First Nations communities with those of other Canadian communities.

Nearly one in four Registered Indians live in above average communities

In 1996, approximately 23% of the Registered Indian population lived in above average First Nations communities. They reported better incomes, higher employment rates, lower levels of crowding and generally higher levels of education than

did residents in average and below average communities. Most above average communities were clustered in Quebec, mid- and southern Ontario, and British Columbia's southern and coastal regions. However, smaller pockets were present in every province, at times adjacent to First Nations communities with substantially lower standards of living.

Approximately 47% of the Registered Indian population lived in communities with average socioeconomic conditions. Compared with above average communities, low educational attainment and crowding were marginally higher while employment rates and income were considerably lower.

Average communities were most prevalent in the Maritimes, southern Manitoba and southern Saskatchewan.

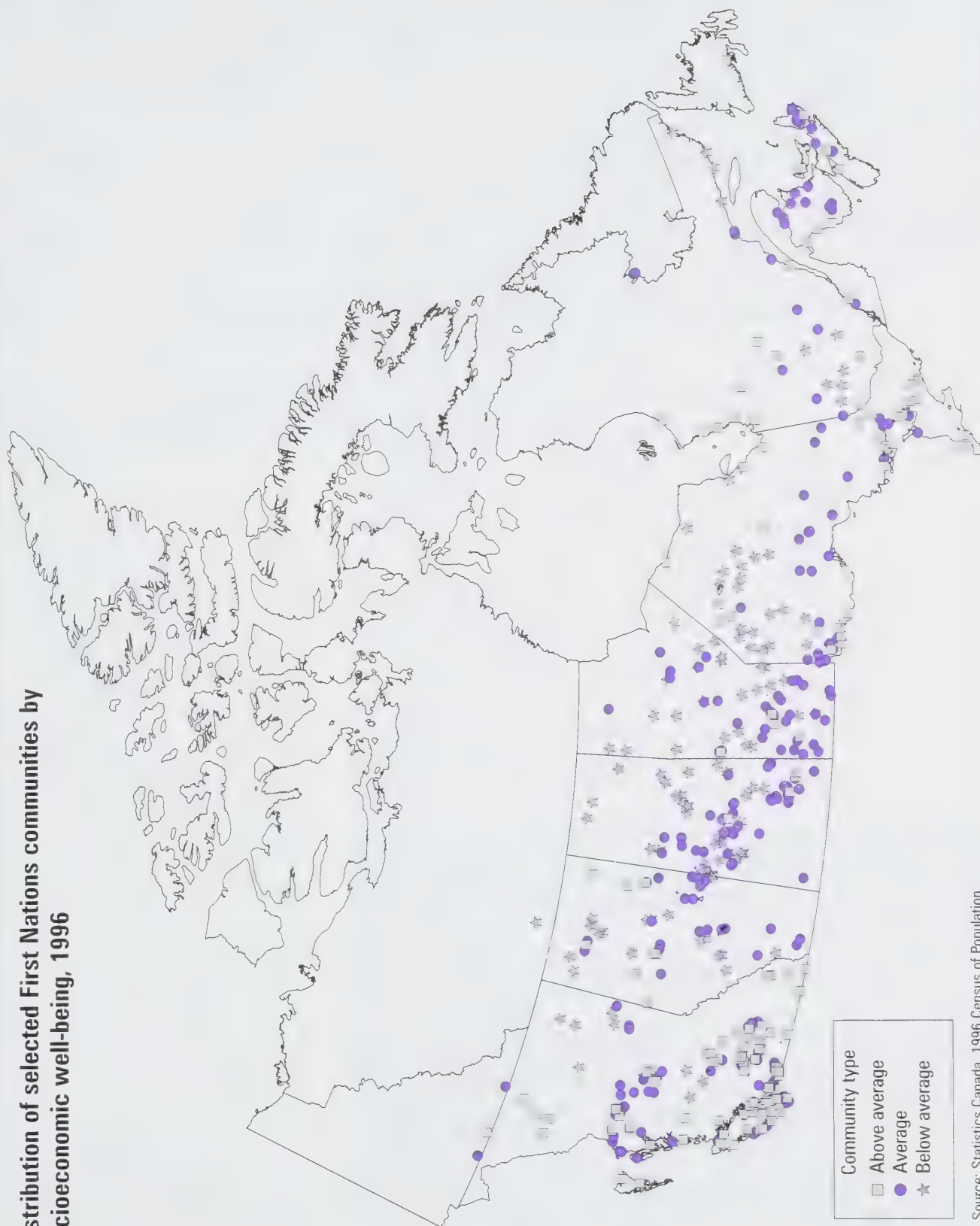
The third group of communities, where nearly 32% of the Registered Indian population lived, exhibited below average conditions. In these communities, high rates of crowding combined with low levels of education, employment and income. The largest concentrations of below average communities were found in mid-Quebec, northwestern Ontario, northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and throughout Alberta.

Communities near urban centres better off than others

Geographic patterns suggest that being near urban or resource-rich areas aids development. Communities in these locations are able to pursue socioeconomic well-being by accessing resources and integrating with urban labour markets. Location, however, is neither an assured nor an only

Although it seems important, location is neither an assured nor an only path to socioeconomic well-being

Distribution of selected First Nations communities by socioeconomic well-being, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

Data for this study have been drawn from the 1996 Census of Population. First Nations communities are defined as census sub-divisions (CSDs) classified as reserves, settlements, Indian government districts, terres réservées or villages cris. In 1996, Statistics Canada collected data from 751 First Nations CSDs. Of these, communities with populations less than 65 were eliminated, accounting for 2.5% of the Registered Indian population of enumerated First Nations communities. This left almost 500 First Nations communities in the study population. Cluster analysis was used to identify and group communities with similar characteristics: 154 were classified as above average, 218 as average, and 124 as below average.

The following four variables are used to measure socioeconomic well-being:

Education: the percent of population aged 20 to 64 with less than grade 9 education as their highest level of schooling. High percentages indicate the extent to which a population is inadequately educated for the modern economy.

Employment: the percent of population aged 20 to 64 employed during the week prior to the census. This variable is a measure of the general health of the local wage economy as well as the paid labour force success of a population.

Income: average annual income from all sources, in 1995, for individuals with income. Income serves as a proxy for the general material well-being of a population.

Housing: mean number of persons per room. Higher values indicate more crowded housing conditions. Not counted as rooms are bathrooms, halls, vestibules and rooms used solely for business purposes.

The remaining two indicators provide further aid in interpreting well-being:

Language: indicates the percent of population that speaks an Aboriginal language at home. It is a proxy for how successfully traditional culture has been preserved. However, a low percentage does not necessarily indicate a loss of uniquely Aboriginal culture.

Youth: indicates percent of population that is under 18 years old. This, in turn, points to the fertility of the population and may, where low, indicate out-migration of population from these areas.

path to success. Some First Nations communities near major cities have below average characteristics, while others in more isolated locations show above average attributes.

Other variables also help explain why some communities are better off than others. First it appears that, in general, First Nations communities that have adopted more "mainstream" ways of doing things are more likely to have better socioeconomic conditions. Indeed, in above average communities, a substantially lower proportion of people spoke an Aboriginal language at home than in below average communities (10% versus 52%), implying that more people conversed in English or French. Above average communities were also more like mainstream society in that they had older populations and were more highly educated.

There are, however, exceptions to mainstream-adaptation models of success. In a small group of eight above average communities (seven of which are James Bay Cree), nearly 90% of the population spoke an Aboriginal language at home. High proportions of Aboriginal home language use (35% to 75%) also occurred in another six above average communities. And some of these well-off groups have very young populations (45% to 55% under 18 years), which further differentiates them from mainstream society. These examples suggest that there are several models for socioeconomic success. Perhaps characteristics that above average First Nations communities share with other Canadians are more superficial than would appear at first glance.

First Nations communities still lag behind non-Aboriginal Canada

Substantial socioeconomic disparities continue to exist between residents in First Nations communities and other Canadians. Compared with the overall Canadian population, in 1996,

	First Nations communities		
	Above average	Average	Below average
% of Registered Indian population	23	47	32
% with less than Grade 9 ¹	15	20	44
% employed ¹	60	42	35
Number of persons per room	0.8	0.9	1.3
Average annual income	\$16,000	\$11,000	\$10,000
% speaking Aboriginal language at home	10	15	52
% under 18 years	38	43	48

1. As percentage of population aged 20 to 64.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

on-reserve Registered Indians were more than twice as likely to have less than grade 9 schooling. In addition, their employment rates were 60% lower, and their average income was only half as much (\$25,000 versus \$12,000). Data on family and housing conditions reveal a similar pattern: First Nations families were twice as likely to be lone-parent families (26% versus 13%) and dwellings were over six times more likely to be crowded (31% versus 5%).

But averages often mask individual differences. To see how specific First Nations communities compared with the rest of the country, non-Aboriginal Canada was divided into five regions of well-being, and a new group of "best-off" Aboriginal communities was created. This best-off group, whose socioeconomic well-being was the highest among First Nations, comprised a set of 45 communities located primarily in southern Ontario and in southern and coastal British Columbia. When levels of education, employment, housing and income were compared between best-off Aboriginal communities and the five non-Aboriginal regions, the results spoke for themselves: First Nations

communities with the best socioeconomic circumstances met the standards of only the poorest regions of non-Aboriginal Canada.

Then and now

While several factors preclude making an exact comparison between 1986 and 1996, sufficient similarities in methodology exist to allow a general contrasting of the two periods. Results indicate that the distribution of First

Nations by relative levels of socioeconomic well-being has not changed significantly during the 10 years.

Geographical patterns in 1996 also resembled those 10 years before. Conditions remained mostly poor in northwestern Ontario, northern Manitoba and northern Saskatchewan; they continued to be relatively good in southern and northern Ontario, along the U.S. border, and in southern British Columbia. Meanwhile, conditions eroded somewhat in the northern and central coastal regions of British Columbia and central Alberta, while they improved in Atlantic Canada and in isolated pockets in the northern parts of provinces from British Columbia to Quebec.

Summary

The vast majority of First Nations communities have considerably lower standards of living than non-Aboriginal regions. In fact, the best-off First Nations communities compare only with the worst-off areas of non-Aboriginal Canada. But substantial variations also exist between Aboriginal communities depending on several geographic and socioeconomic factors. For example, First Nations communities appear to do better

	Best-off First Nations communities	Worst-off non-Aboriginal regions
% with less than Grade 9 ¹	12	20
% employed ¹	58	57
Number of persons per room	0.7	0.6
Average annual income	\$18,200	\$18,900
% speaking Aboriginal language at home	2	n.a.
% under 18 years	36	25

1. As percentage of population aged 20 to 64.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census of Population.

socioeconomically when near an urban centre or resource-rich area. Their situation becomes better yet when certain factors — language, age structure of population, education — reflect those of the non-Aboriginal majority. At first glance, this may suggest that adopting mainstream ways may be the model for socioeconomic success. However, the numerous exceptions to this observation imply that there are alternative paths to development, making the situation more complex than may appear at first sight.

• This article is adapted from "Geographical patterns of socioeconomic well-being of First Nations Communities," *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin*, Volume 1, No. 8, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 21-006-XIE. June 1999. <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/21-006-XIE/199900821-006-XIE.pdf>



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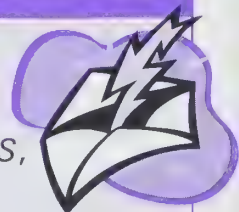
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Moving to be better off

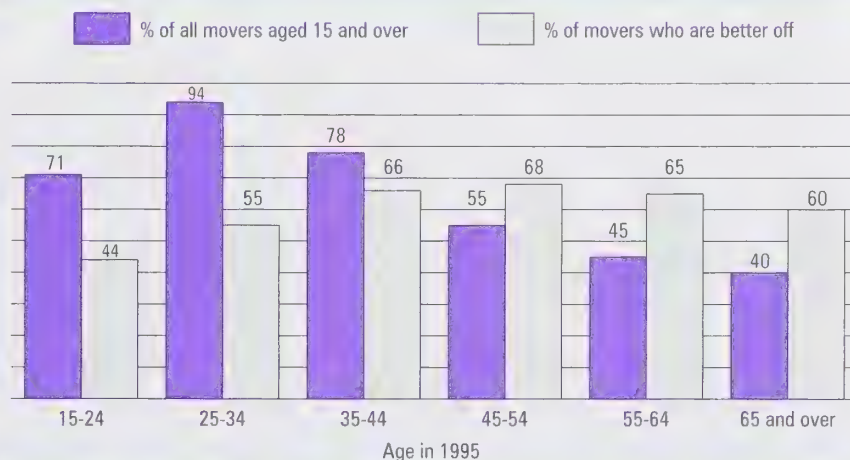
by Frances Kremarik

Moving is not fun. Whether you move to the other side of town, the other side of the country, or just two floors up in the same apartment building, moving involves countless chores and disruptions that most people find time consuming and annoying. Moving may involve leaving behind old friends and establishing a new social network; it certainly implies interrupting well-established routines and living out of boxes. No wonder psychologists consider moving one of the greatest stressors in people's lives. Nonetheless, most people decide to move because, despite the inconvenience, they end up better off in some way. This article uses data from the 1995 General Social Survey to draw a brief profile of Canadians who move to improve the quality of their life.¹

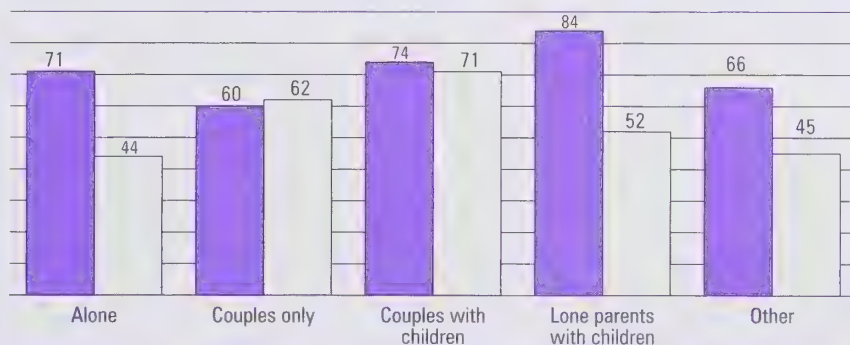
Between 1985 and 1995, more than 15 million Canadian adults (68% of all people aged 15 years and over in 1995) moved at least once. Some did so because they needed a larger house, others because of a job offer, while yet others moved because they married or divorced. People cited many other reasons too; for example, downsizing, finances, jobs or school, and seeking independence. The majority (60%), however, reported

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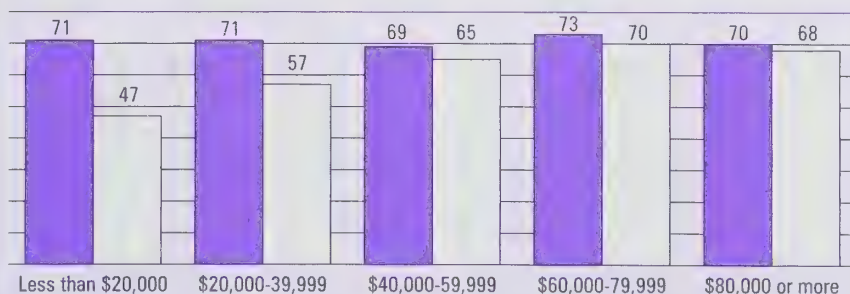
In the previous 10 years, Canadians aged 45 to 54 were most likely to have moved to be better off ...



... as were couples with children ...



... and people with household income over \$50,000



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995.

1. The 1995 General Social Survey interviewed nearly 11,000 respondents aged 15 years and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. The data collected included information about demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, most recent moves and reason for move.

	Movers who are better off	Bought/ built house	Reason why better off		
			Larger house %	Better neighbourhood	Smaller house
TOTAL MOVERS	60	34	15	10	4
Living arrangement					
Alone	44	17	7	12	10
Couples only	62	37	11	10	6
Couples with children	71	46	21	8	--
Lone parents with children	52	25	16	10	--
Other arrangements	45	16	17	11	2
Household income					
Less than \$20,000	47	18	11	13	7
\$20,000 – \$39,999	57	32	14	10	4
\$40,000 – \$59,999	65	43	15	9	2
\$60,000 – \$79,999	70	44	16	10	2
\$80,000 or more	68	39	23	10	--

Note: The question allowed multiple responses which will not sum to total.

-- Sample too small to produce reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995.

that they had moved to improve the quality of their lives with new housing choices — either they had bought a new house, moved into a house that better suited their needs (larger or smaller), or moved into a better neighbourhood; in other words, a change that made them “better off.”

But what does better off mean? In essence, better is defined by what people perceive to be important at any given stage in their life. A new graduate, for example, who had just moved out of his parents' large single house, may consider a modest apartment a “step up” in life, if it means gaining independence. For a young couple with small children, moving from a crowded apartment to a more spacious townhouse is definitely a move up. Others may feel that a single

family home is their dream come true. Older couples, now that their children have gone, often feel that a smaller home would improve their quality of life by requiring less work and money, and leaving more time and resources for other pursuits.

Of course, a home exists within a neighbourhood, and people's choice of neighbourhood is also closely linked to their stage in life. Although a “better neighbourhood” is usually defined in terms of its social or physical conditions, it is nonetheless a highly subjective term.² A young single man's ideal neighbourhood may be completely unacceptable to an elderly woman; couples with young children may want a home close to parks and schools — features that a couple without children might find

detracts from the attractiveness of the area. Better can mean safer, further from downtown, closer to downtown, closer to schools, closer to work, or even closer to the golf course.

Canadians between the ages of 25 and 34 in 1995 were most likely to have moved in the previous decade — 94% between 1985 and 1995. During those 10 years, many in this age group were attending or finishing school, starting their careers, getting married or entering conjugal relationships — all reasons that help explain the high occurrence of moves. Nevertheless, over half of these younger movers felt

2. Hartshorn, T. A. 1992. *Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography*. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, pp.247-248.

that their change of residence had made them better off.

On the other hand, proportionally fewer adults aged 35 to 54 had moved, but of those who did, about two-thirds had succeeded in becoming better off. They had moved to a better neighbourhood, to a home of more appropriate size, or had bought or built a home, most probably to accommodate their growing families.

Household composition strongly influences who moves and why. Couples with children were very likely to move (74%) and did very well, with nearly three-quarters improving their quality of life as a result of the move. Lone parents with children were even more likely to move (84%), but only about half of these families were made better off; over one in 10 had left their old home for financial reasons, pre-

sumably in search of more affordable accommodation.

In fact, people in the lowest income group were just as likely to move as people in the highest group. Not surprisingly, though, movers with household incomes of \$80,000 or more were much more likely to have been made better off: 68% versus 47% of those with incomes under \$20,000. Given the financial constraints faced by families in the lowest income group, it is not difficult to see why moving may not result in their being better off.



Frances Kremarik is an analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.



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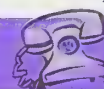
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In sickness and in health: The well-being of married seniors

by Susan Crompton and Anna Kemeny

With the aging of the population, Canadians have become increasingly concerned about the well-being of senior citizens. In recent years, many sectors of society have discussed how best to help seniors maintain their independence as well as what seniors themselves can do to minimize the problems that can develop with aging. Researchers agree that "successful aging," like successful living, is generally best achieved by some combination of physical, mental and emotional health; close relationships with friends and family; financial stability; and ongoing involvement with life.¹

However, it seems that good physical health is simultaneously a condition for, and a contributor to, aging well: more opportunities are available to a healthy person, and a wider variety of activities, both mental and physical, seems in turn to improve a person's health.² This would suggest that seniors whose everyday activities are restricted by illness or disability are in greatest jeopardy of isolation and perhaps loss of independence.

Using some selected indicators, this article compares the psychological and social well-being of married seniors in poor health with those of seniors in good health. It also examines whether a person's well-being is affected by their

spouse's health. To control for the well-known effects of socioeconomic status on health, the study population are middle-income homeowners living in two-person households in which at least one spouse is age 65 or over.

Healthy or not, most married seniors were doing well psychologically

The majority of married seniors described themselves as happy — but those in good health were more likely to do so. Over 90% of healthy senior men and women reported that they were happy, regardless of their partner's health. In comparison, no more than about three-quarters of men and fewer than two-thirds of women in poor health claimed to be happy. But while it appears that seniors in ill health are more likely to report feeling happy if their partner is healthy rather than ill, there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups, suggesting that a spouse's physical health has a minimal impact on happiness.

Although the majority of married seniors scored very low on the scale for mental distress, a very real degree of emotional discomfort seems to attend the lives of people whose day-to-day activities are compromised by illness. Many seniors in poor health are likely living with chronic pain, which is often associated with increased levels of mental distress. According to the distress scale — which measures feelings of restlessness, hopelessness, worthlessness or sadness — married seniors who were ill reported

1. Rowe, John W. and Robert L. Kahn. 1998. *Successful Aging*. New York: Dell Publishing. pp. 35-52.

2. Ibid. pp. 35-52.

This article uses data from the cross-sectional component of the 1996-97 National Population Health Survey (NPHS), designed to collect information about the health of Canadians. Almost 82,000 respondents answered in-depth health questions, covering items such as health status, use of medication, risk-taking behaviour and mental and psychological well-being.

For this article, persons living in middle-income two-person homeownership households in which at least one person was age 65 or over — more than 2,050 respondents representing almost 600,000 persons — were identified; of these, persons in either poor or good health living with a spouse in either poor or good health — almost 800 respondents representing over 220,000 men and women — were selected for inclusion in the study population. In the great majority of these households, both the respondent and the spouse were 65 or older; in some cases, the respondent was younger. For the sake of brevity, however, all respondents will be referred to as "seniors."

Poor health: having an activity limitation and at least two long-term health problems. Also referred to as "ill."

Good health: not having an activity limitation and having no or only one long-term health problem. Also referred to as "healthy."

Middle-income: annual household income of \$20,000 to \$40,000 in 1996-97.

Activity limitation: refers to any long-term physical or mental condition or disability that limits a person's activities at home, at school, at work or in other settings. Physical limitations common among seniors include mobility (ability to get around), non-correctable hearing and vision problems.

Long-term health problem/chronic health problem: a diagnosed health condition lasting, or expected to last, at least six months. Common long-term conditions among seniors include arthritis or rheumatism, non-arthritic back problems, heart disease, high blood pressure and diabetes.

Distress: based on a set of questions designed to assess mental and emotional well-being. Respondents were asked how frequently (from none

of the time to all the time) they felt very sad, nervous, restless or fidgety, hopeless, worthless, and that everything was an effort. Higher scores indicate more distress.

Depression: measures the symptoms associated with a major depressive episode using a subset of questions from the Composite International Diagnostic Interview.

Emotional support: based on four questions that ask (yes or no) if the respondents has someone they can confide in, someone they can count on, someone who can give them advice, and someone who makes them feel loved. A higher score indicates greater perceived social support.

Frequency of social contact: measures the frequency (every day, at least once a week, two or three times a month, once a month, a few times a year, once a year, never) with which the respondent had contact in the past 12 months with friends, neighbours and family members who are not part of the household. A higher score indicates more contacts.

Frequency of social involvement: measures the frequency (at least once a week, at least once a month, at least three or four times a year, at least once a year, never) of the respondent's participation in associations, voluntary organizations and religious services. A higher score indicates greater social involvement.

Cognitive function: measure of memory and thinking capacity, based on the respondent's usual ability to remember things and usual ability to think and solve day-to-day problems.

Physical activity index: measure of intensity of leisure-time physical activity based on energy expenditure. An *active* person expends a minimum of 3.0 calories per kilogram of body weight per day in activity during their leisure time; a person at a *moderate* level expends a minimum of 1.5 calories. A person will achieve cardiovascular benefits from active physical activity and health benefits from moderate activity. Persons who are *inactive* expend less than 1.5 calories per kilogram of body weight per day and are deriving no health benefits from physical activity.

higher levels of distress than their healthy counterparts. Nevertheless, having a healthy spouse seemed to help men in poor health, since almost all 94% of them reported a low level of distress (less than 7 out of 24), compared with only 63%³ of those whose spouse was also ill. Women in poor health did not seem to benefit in the same way, since there was no statistically significant difference in distress levels recorded by those with a healthy compared to an ill partner.

Average scores are another way of looking at levels of distress and they tell the same story: the average scores of seniors in poor health (except for men with healthy wives) were almost four to six times higher than those of seniors in good health.

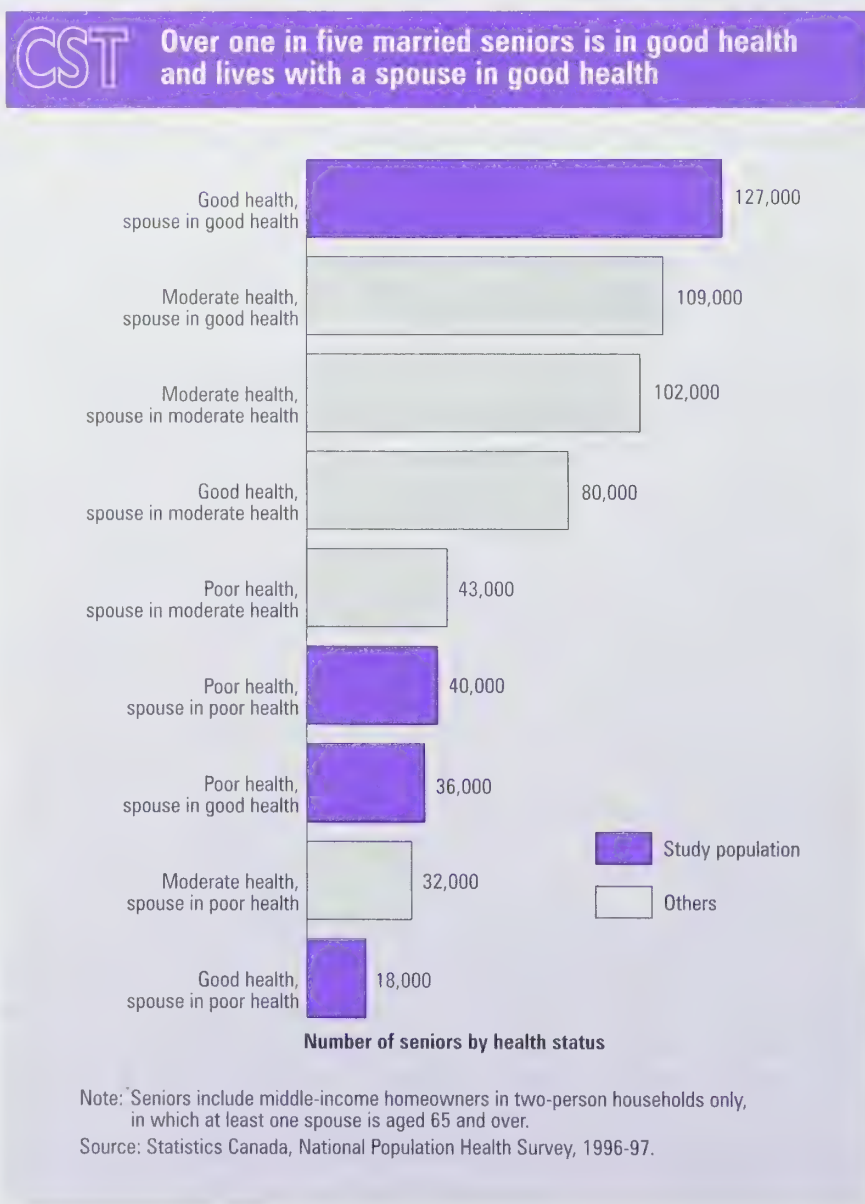
The depression index probes the likelihood that a period of feeling blue or sad may have escalated into an episode of clinical depression. Depression is actually quite uncommon among people who are married, and even more uncommon among the elderly.⁴ Even when burdened with ill health, over 96% of married seniors had exhibited no symptoms of depression during the previous year.

Medical studies have consistently shown that emotional support, especially from a partner, has direct positive effects on health. Researchers believe this is because some of the health-related effects of aging are buffered when people have someone they can confide in and can count on, and who can give them advice and make them feel loved. Conversely, lack of such support is a powerful risk factor for poor health, perhaps because people have no one to help shield them from the effects of various stressors.⁵

According to the NPHS, married seniors had a high rate of emotional support, with the overwhelming majority of both men and women scoring at least 3 out of 4 on the emotional support scale, regardless of their own or their spouse's health. (Although only 78% of men in poor health married to part-

ners in poor health scored high, the difference between them and other men was not statistically significant.)

The love and companionship received at home is reinforced by keeping in touch with friends, relatives and neighbours. The great majority of seniors reported that they visited with and talked to people in their social network at least several times a month. Women in both good and poor health, and with both healthy and ill partners, scored consistently high on the frequency of contact scale (over 94% scored at least 3 out of 6 and had average scores of over 4). Men, healthy or not, also had high scores (over 96% scoring 3 out of 6 with average scores of 4 and over) as long as their partner was healthy. However, if married to someone in ill health, men's scores dropped visibly, implying in the case of social contact that the health of their wives made a greater difference than their own.



3. Subject to high sampling variability.

4. In 1994-95, 6% of married persons and 3% of seniors were classified as having had a major depressive episode in the previous year. Beaudet, M.P. 1996. "Depression," *Health Reports* 7, 4. (Statistics Canada catalogue 82-003-XPB)

5. Rowe, J. W. and R. L. Kahn. 1998. *Successful Aging*. New York: Dell Publishing. pp. 152-166.

Some gerontologists believe that continuing engagement with life, sometimes reflected as involvement at the community level, also contributes to successful aging, and is associated with better health, self-worth and connection with others.⁶ However, according to their scores, few seniors ranked above the mid-point on the social involvement scale (at least 4 out of 8); the exception, not surprisingly, was healthy seniors with healthy partners — some 68% of men and 61% of women in healthy couples. Average scores indicated gender differences in involvement in community activities: women (both healthy and ill) living with a partner in poor health had average scores higher than men in the same situation, perhaps indicating their greater desire to “get out and about.”

The fact that seniors in poor health were less likely to participate in volunteer organizations and associations, or to attend religious services, may reflect the limits imposed

by their physical restrictions: attending meetings when one's mobility is restricted, or participating in group activities with a hearing problem, may be difficult to undertake.

There is another benefit to social interaction that seniors may enjoy. Regular use of the powers of thinking, reasoning and solving problems is central to supporting day-to-day health and independence. Some medical studies show that seniors who are involved in a variety of activities appear to have strong cognitive capacity, while those with very little social involvement report having trouble concentrating, solving problems and remembering events. Over eight in 10 seniors in healthy couples reported having no difficulty with cognitive function. In contrast, over half of seniors living in couples in poor health had at least some cognitive difficulty (for example, being forgetful, having trouble thinking clearly). This could be due to a variety of factors related to their physical condition, such as chronic pain and discomfort or the effects of medication.

Interestingly, regardless of their own health, seniors with healthy spouses were more likely to report good cognitive function than those with ill spouses.

<div> <div>CST</div> <div>Senior men in good health living with a partner in good health were most likely to report feeling happy</div> </div>			
	Distress index		
	% who are happy	% under 7 of 24	Average score
Senior men			
In good health			
Spouse in good health	96	98	1.0
Spouse in poor health	88	98	0.8
In poor health			
Spouse in good health	77	94	2.1
Spouse in poor health	64 ¹	63 ¹	6.1
Senior women			
In good health			
Spouse in good health	90	96	1.5
Spouse in poor health	94	93	1.8
In poor health			
Spouse in good health	64	72	4.0
Spouse in poor health	60 ¹	60 ¹	5.6

Note: Seniors include middle-income homeowners in two-person households only, in which at least one spouse is aged 65 and over.

1. Subject to high sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1996-97.

Seniors not likely to be physically active, even if they are healthy

According to many researchers, physical fitness is also crucial to aging well: fitness boosts muscular strength, reduces the impact of other health risks, maintains bone mass and improves psychological well-being.⁷ Health benefits can be derived from walking for as little as 30 minutes a day, and cardiovascular benefits from one hour's walking.⁸

While leisure-time exercise in its various forms — walking, gardening, swimming — provides its own rewards, one of its benefits lies in keeping seniors in shape so they can perform the regular, mundane tasks of daily life — walking upstairs, doing laundry, preparing meals or doing yardwork. In the long-term, physical fitness can

6. Ibid. pp. 167-180.

7. Ibid. p. 98.

8. Example calculated for a 70-kilogram (154-pound) adult, using the NPHS definitions of energy expenditure at the moderate and active levels.

reduce a couple's dependence on outside help with their everyday activities.

One would not expect people with multiple chronic illnesses and an activity limitation to engage often in recreational physical activities. Indeed, about two-thirds of ill seniors with partners in poor health were physically inactive, compared with only half of healthy seniors living in healthy couples. What is somewhat surprising are the results for healthy seniors living with a spouse who is ill: two-thirds are inactive during their leisure time. This may suggest that the time available for their own activities is curtailed by the need to provide care for their partners.

Regardless of their own or their spouse's health status, women were more likely than men to be physically inactive during their leisure time: over eight in 10 women in poor health, and over half of those in good health, did not meet the basic minimum level of physical activity for maintaining their health. Some of this inactivity may be due to their inability to participate in traditional recreational activities,

but the special fitness classes now offered in many communities — aquafit, "chair aerobics" and seniors' yoga and weight training classes — may provide an opportunity for these seniors to enjoy the benefits of physical activity.

Summary

Results of the NPHS show that homeownership middle-income married seniors in poor health do not score as well on some indicators for psychological well-being (happiness, distress) as their healthy counterparts. They also report having more trouble in their day-to-day cognitive function. However, much of the malaise reported by seniors in poor health, as well as some of their difficulty with remembering things or thinking clearly, could be due to medication or chronic pain and discomfort related to their illnesses and physical limitations. On the other hand, married seniors in poor health enjoy a high level of emotional support and are just as socially engaged as those in good health.

CST The vast majority of seniors reported receiving high levels of emotional support						
	Emotional support		Frequency of contact		Social involvement	
	% at least 3 of 4	Average score	% at least 3 of 6	Average score	% at least 4 of 8	Average score
Senior men						
In good health						
Spouse in good health	96	3.8	96	4.4	68	4.4
Spouse in poor health	98	3.8	--	3.5	--	2.9
In poor health						
Spouse in good health	100	4.0	98	4.0	50 ¹	3.0
Spouse in poor health	78 ¹	3.3	82 ¹	3.6	24 ¹	1.7
Senior women						
In good health						
Spouse in good health	93	3.6	94	4.2	61	4.3
Spouse in poor health	96	3.9	97	4.4	48 ¹	3.4
In poor health						
Spouse in good health	96	3.8	100	4.2	42 ¹	2.7
Spouse in poor health	98	3.9	99	4.3	36 ¹	2.7

Note: Seniors include middle-income homeowners in two-person households only, in which at least one spouse is aged 65 and over.

-- Sample too small to provide reliable estimate.

1. Subject to high sampling variability.

Source: Statistics Canada, National Population Health Survey, 1996-97.

For reasons which are not clear, higher socioeconomic status is strongly associated with good health. People in the upper-middle and upper income brackets are more likely to enjoy very good to excellent health than those in lower income groups. Researchers have proposed that this may be because high-income persons most often have a high education and are employed in less hazardous jobs; earning higher incomes also allows them greater control over their lives. Other researchers suggest that higher education helps people to better understand health risks, since well-educated people generally maintain healthier lifestyles, including more exercise, good nutrition, more medical check-ups and less risky behaviour (for example, not smoking and using seat belts).

The link between socioeconomic profile and health is less pronounced among older than younger people, but the association nonetheless persists. Among seniors, the link to socioeconomic status may not be simply the "heritage" of good or poor health from their youth, but the level of

involvement in maintaining their health into old age. Some studies suggest that seniors with higher socioeconomic status are better able to understand health education material provided by their doctors and to participate actively in making decisions about their health care. Also, the International Adult Literacy Survey showed that Canadian seniors with good literacy skills (which are strongly associated with higher income and education) are exposed regularly to a wider range of information — newspapers and magazines, books and radio — than seniors with poor skills. With many media sources now carrying health news, researchers suggest that seniors with access to more information in their daily lives may be alerted sooner to potential health problems, leading to earlier diagnosis and treatment.

- For more information, see Paul Roberts and Gail Fawcett. 1998. *At Risk: a Socio-economic Analysis of Health and Literacy Among Seniors* (Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-552-MPE, no. 5)

The impact of a spouse's health on successful aging cannot be overlooked, since the well-being of someone close generally influences one's own state of mind. For most indicators of well-being examined, healthy seniors married to healthy people are better off than seniors in poor health married to people who are ill. The situation of "mixed health" couples is not as clear. Having a spouse who is ill does not seem to adversely affect the general well-being of healthy seniors; meanwhile, having a healthy spouse appears to be quite beneficial to seniors who are ill, especially men, suggesting that the healthy partner offers help and support that makes life more comfortable and enjoyable. Further research into this issue would be rewarding.



Susan Crompton is Editor-in-Chief and **Anna Kemeny** is an editor with *Canadian Social Trends*.

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SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
POPULATION									
<i>Total population (July 1)</i>	27,700,856	28,030,864	28,376,550	28,703,142	29,035,981	29,353,854	29,671,892	30,010,974	30,301,185
Age 0-17	6,867,478	6,937,359	7,025,890	7,082,119	7,129,772	7,165,617	7,205,638	7,217,560	7,203,354
Age 18-64	17,712,418	17,876,300	18,054,838	18,250,347	18,466,087	18,676,242	18,884,263	19,130,082	19,360,759
Age 65 and over	3,120,960	3,217,205	3,295,822	3,370,676	3,440,122	3,511,995	3,581,991	3,663,332	3,737,027
<i>Population rates (per 1,000)</i>									
Total growth	14.0	11.4	12.9	11.1	11.2	10.8	11.0	10.7	8.7
Birth	14.7	14.4	14.1	13.5	13.3	12.9	12.3	11.6	11.4
Death	6.9	7.0	6.9	7.1	7.1	7.2	7.2	7.2	7.4
Natural increase	7.7	7.4	7.1	6.4	6.1	5.7	5.2	4.4	4.1
Immigration	7.7	8.2	8.9	8.9	7.7	7.2	7.6	7.2	5.7
Emigration	1.4	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.7
Interprovincial migration	12.0	11.3	10.9	9.9	9.9	9.8	9.6	10.5	11.6
Marriage	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.6	5.5	5.5	5.3	—	—
<i>Percent growth in largest Census Metropolitan Areas (to July 1)</i>									
Toronto	1.6	0.9	1.7	1.4	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.3	2.0
Montréal	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5
Vancouver	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.7	3.2	3.2	3.3	2.9	1.5
HEALTH									
Total fertility per women	1.72	1.71	1.71	1.69	1.69	1.67	1.62	1.55	—
Teenage pregnancy	45,639	45,553	46,221	46,376	47,376	45,044	—	—	—
Rate per 1,000 women 10-19	24.4	24.3	24.5	24.3	24.6	23.1	—	—	—
% of low birth-weight babies	5.4	5.5	5.5	5.7	5.8	5.9	5.7	5.8	—
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	6.8	6.4	6.1	6.3	6.3	6.1	5.6	5.5	—
<i>Life expectancy (years)</i>									
Men	—	74.6	74.7	74.9	75.0	75.2	75.5	75.8	—
Women	—	81.0	81.0	81.0	81.0	81.1	81.2	81.4	—
<i>Leading causes of death for men (per 100,000 persons)*</i>									
Cancer	246.6	247.5	244.0	241.0	238.9	234.7	236.6	229.7	—
Lung	79.6	78.8	77.3	77.3	74.7	72.1	72.9	69.8	—
Colorectal	25.7	25.1	25.9	24.5	24.7	24.7	24.4	23.5	—
Prostate	30.1	31.2	30.9	30.8	30.3	30.3	29.2	28.6	—
Heart diseases	269.1	263.7	256.9	256.0	244.9	238.7	239.9	230.8	—
Cerebrovascular diseases	58.2	55.8	54.4	56.2	54.3	53.5	52.9	52.8	—
External causes**	69.1	68.7	66.9	67.4	64.9	65.0	63.0	—	—
<i>Leading causes of death for women (per 100,000 persons)*</i>									
Cancer	153.1	153.7	152.7	154.0	153.9	150.3	155.0	148.5	—
Lung	27.6	29.6	29.6	31.6	31.7	31.1	33.6	32.3	—
Colorectal	17.7	16.8	16.6	16.5	15.9	16.0	15.7	15.2	—
Breast	31.3	30.1	30.4	29.2	29.8	28.4	28.9	27.4	—
Heart diseases	150.1	147.6	140.8	140.5	137.9	134.8	134.7	129.7	—
Cerebrovascular diseases	46.8	46.3	46.1	47.3	45.3	44.0	44.1	43.9	—
External causes**	26.5	26.5	25.7	26.6	25.0	25.4	25.1	—	—

— Data not available.

* Age-standardized to 1996 population.

** Includes events such as suicide, poisoning, and motor vehicle and other types of accidents.

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EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for "Plugged into the Internet"

Objectives

- ☐ To examine who uses the Internet and what they are using it for
- ☐ To discuss potential risks associated with use

Method

1. Take a quick poll of the class to determine who has a computer at home. What proportion of this group uses the Internet at home and how many hours per week do they use it for? What does the class primarily use the Internet for? How does this compare with the national data?
2. What impediments do students experience in using the Internet?
3. Ask the class if their parents use the Internet as much as they do and if their parents' use of the Internet differs from theirs. Discuss what factors might contribute to a generation gap in Internet use.
4. Discuss what might be the signs of an Internet addiction. Ask the class if they know anyone who has an Internet addiction.
5. Discuss with the class if the Internet helps them to learn and if they are more productive in doing assignments when they use it. What problems are encountered when using the Internet as a resource for assignments?
6. Have the class discuss valuable techniques they have found to use the Internet for school assignments. Which sites did students find particularly valuable for their last assignment?
7. Ask the class if they have ever received threats or unsolicited flames. How did they deal with them? Discuss what would be a suitable response.
8. On the board, have the class list as many "Smileys" (ASCII characters that people use to communicate nonverbal information on the Internet) as they can think of and their meanings.
e.g., :-) Smiling,
 &:(Bad hair day

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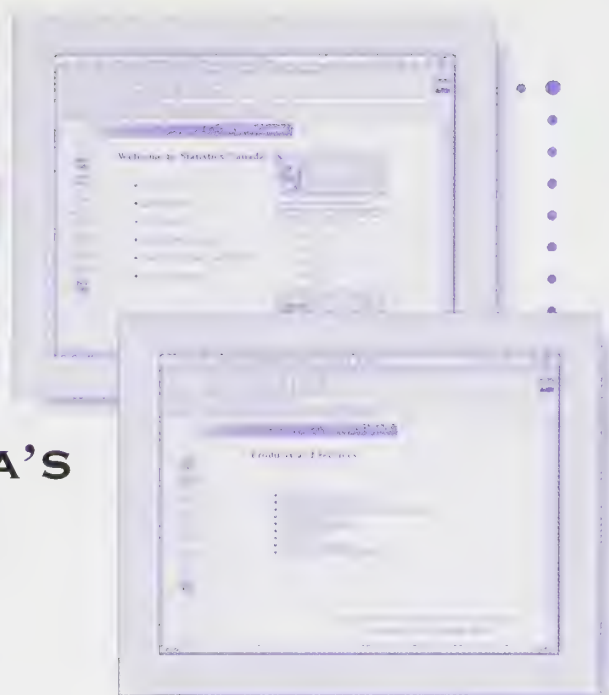
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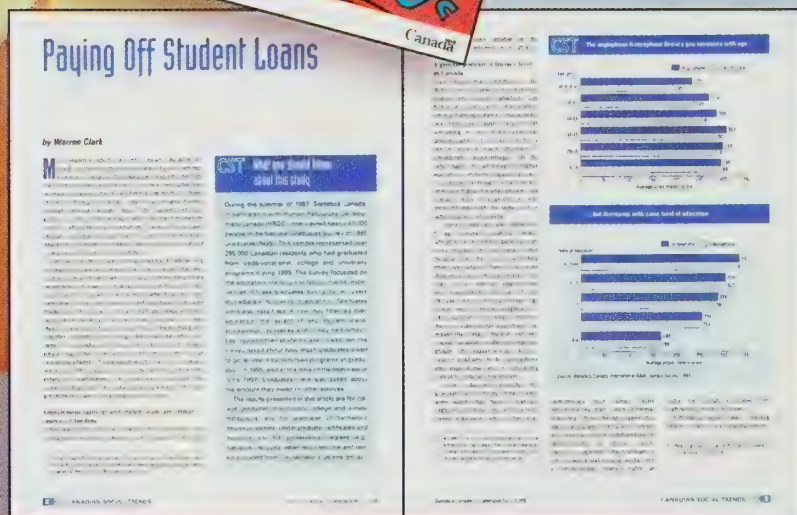
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One hundred years of families

by Anne Milan

During most, and certainly the early part, of the past century, marriage was seen as a lifetime commitment, and the “traditional” family, consisting of husband, wife and children, was considered the norm. Early 20th century families were often flexible, expanding and contracting as the need arose. It was not unusual for them to take in older relatives, orphans or newlyweds with limited financial resources, as well as boarders.¹ Having many children was commonplace, and women could spend many decades engaged in childbearing and childrearing, often still caring for infants or young children after the oldest children had already left home.²

Exceptions to the traditional family unit — men and women who never married, lone parents, childless couples and couples living common-law³ — always existed, but they were less likely the result of individual choice than of uncontrollable circumstances, such as the death of a spouse, obligations to aging parents, or poverty. As the 21st century dawns, people have



acquired more choice, which has resulted in later marriages, delayed parenthood and smaller families, as well as higher rates of divorce, remarriage and blended families. This article briefly follows Canadian families throughout the course of the 20th century, and identifies some of the social, legal and economic conditions that have affected them.

1. Nett, E. M. 1993. *Canadian Families: Past and Present* (2nd ed.). Toronto: Harcourt, Brace Canada.
2. Ibid.
3. While common-law marriages may have existed in frontier areas where clergy were often unavailable, it is believed that common-law unions were rare. Larson, L. E., J. W. Goltz and C. W. Hobart. 1994. *Families in Canada: Social Context, Continuities and Changes*. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall and Statistics Canada, Catalogue 91-534E.

Data in this article come from several Statistics Canada surveys. The primary sources, however, were the Censuses of Population and Vital Statistics.

Crude marriage rate: number of marriages per 1,000 population aged 15 and over.

Crude divorce rate: number of divorces per 100,000 population aged 15 and over.

Total fertility rate: the average number of births per woman aged 15 and over that would occur during their childbearing years if they survived through their reproductive years and bore children in accordance with the age-specific fertility rates observed in a given year.

Blended families: blended families combine children who have different relationships with their parents. It consists of a married or common-law couple living with at least two children, one of whom does not share the same natural and/or adoptive parents as the other child(ren).

The complete bibliography for this article is available on the CST webpage on Statistics Canada's website:

<http://www.statcan.ca/english/ads/11-008-XIE/index.htm>

Late marriage and large families the norm at the turn of the 20th century

The cultural heritage of Canada's northern and western European settlers dictated that people establish an independent household when they married. Because this usually required a large financial investment, young men often worked for many years in order to save enough money to provide a suitable home for a wife. As a result, the age at which both men and women got

married was relatively old: 28 years on average for men and nearly 25 years for women in 1921.⁴

Although important for both social and economic reasons (especially for women), at no time was marriage a universal phenomenon. Religious vocation and financial difficulty in establishing a new household were two common reasons for not marrying.⁵ And in fact, the proportion of people in their mid- to late 40s who had never married reached levels of 12% for women and 15% for men during the early 1900s.⁶

When families were still primarily living on the farm, it was advantageous for couples to have large families. Children were expected to share in daily chores and other farm labour, adding directly to the family's output. This, coupled with religious doctrine and lack of effective contraception, resulted in women giving birth to an average of 6.6 children in 1851. In the late 19th century, families

began moving to the cities, attracted by the economic opportunities offered by growing industrialization. Many children were among the family members who found jobs, often working long hours in unsafe conditions.⁷ By 1920, however, the implementation of child labour laws, and of mandatory school-attendance until age 16, freed children from the factory. These changes accelerated the decline in family size. In 1901, women had given birth to an average of 4.6 children, but by 1921, the average had fallen to 3.5.

It was rarely done, but couples could end their marriage through legal separation, annulment or divorce. Given that existing laws were restrictive, and divorce was only granted with proof of adultery, there were only three divorces per 10,000 marriages in 1901 and the divorce rate remained low throughout the early 1900s. The low rate of formal marital dissolution does not mean that families did not break up. Although no data exist on the extent of family abandonment, some spouses (usually the husband) who wanted to end their responsibilities simply deserted their families.

The most common reason for lone-parenthood or remarriage in the early 20th century was the death of a spouse. Poor health conditions, limited medical knowledge and frequent disease meant that mortality was high during the early 1900s. The "empty nest" stage of the family life cycle — when a couple lives alone after their grown children leave home — was rare, and it was not uncommon for spouses to die when they were relatively young. Widows and widowers often remarried because they needed help with young children, domestic labour or financial support. In 1921, for example,

4. 1921 is the first year for which vital statistics are available.

5. Gee, E. M. 1982. "Marriage in nineteenth-century Canada." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. 19:311-325.

6. Gee, E. M. 1987. "Historical change in the family life course of Canadian men and women." Victor Marshall (ed.) *Aging in Canada: Social perspective*. Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

7. Ward, M. 1998. *The Family Dynamic: A Canadian Perspective* (2nd ed.). Toronto: ITP Nelson.

17% of marriages involved at least one spouse who had been married before.

People less likely to marry and have children during the Depression

During the Depression of the 1930s — a period of high unemployment and severe deprivation for many Canadians and their families — people were reluctant or unable to take on the financial and social responsibilities of marriage. Consequently, marriage rates decreased dramatically — from 7.5 marriages per 1,000 population in 1928 to 5.9 in 1932 — and the number of children born declined.

For most of the 1930s, the birth rate stayed at fewer than three children per woman on average; in fact, as many as 20% of women (mostly those with higher levels of education and household income) had no children. By 1937, the total fertility rate had fallen to only 2.6 children per woman.

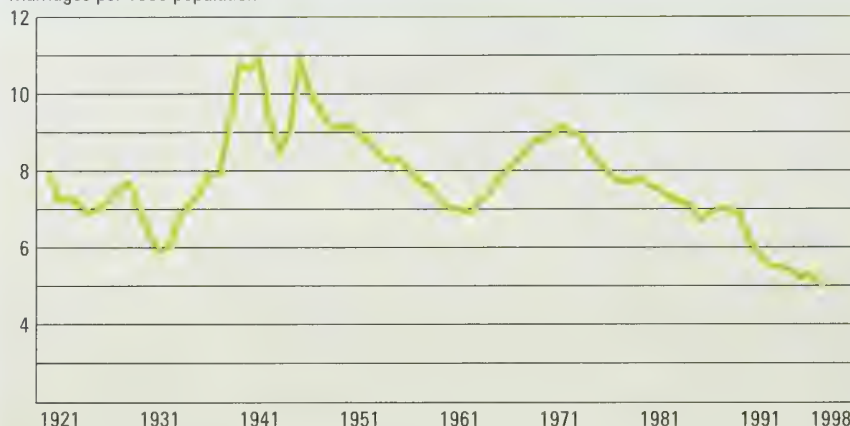
World War II accompanied by surge of marriages and the baby boom

The Depression reached its lowest point in 1933. By the mid-1930s, economic conditions began to improve, but recovery was slow. In 1939, Canada entered the Second World War, and government spending on the war effort further stimulated employment in several sectors of the economy.⁸ The uncertainties of war and the fear that conscription might be introduced (in which case single men would be more likely than married men to be conscripted) caused many couples to rush to the altar. All in all, by 1942, the crude marriage rate had peaked at 10.9 marriages per 1,000 population. During the next few years, while men were away at war, the rate dropped to 8.5 per 1,000 in



The current marriage rate is now even lower than in 1931 but for different reasons

Marriages per 1000 population¹



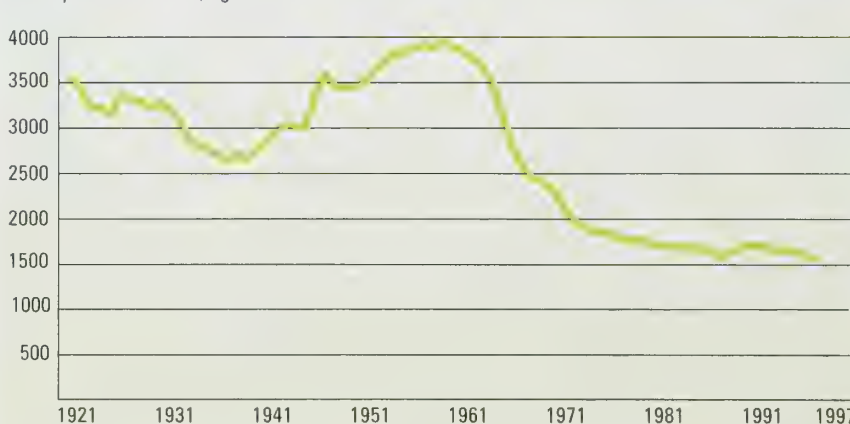
1. Excluding the Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories, 1921-1923.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 11-516-XIE, 84-212-XPB, CANSIM Matrices 6, 7 and 6367-6379, and author's calculations.



Fertility rates have declined over the past century, except for the baby boom

Births per 1000 women, aged 15-49¹



1. Excluding Newfoundland 1921-1990, and Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories 1921-1949.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 91-535E, 84-210-XPB and 11-001-XPE (*The Daily*, July 8, 1998 and June 16, 1999).

1944, only to return to its previous peak in 1946 as couples united after prolonged wartime absences.⁹

These high marriage rates led to the phenomenon known as the baby boom. During the early 1940s, women were having on average three children, a small number compared with the early 1900s. But the number of children born to

8. During World War II, Canada became a major producer of ships, cargo carriers, aircraft, tanks and other military vehicles. Foot, D. K. and D. Stoffman. 1998. *Boom, Bust & Echo 2000: Profiting from the demographic shift in the new millenium*. Toronto: Macfarlane, W. and R. p. 24.

9. McVey, W. W. Jr. and W. E. Kalbach. 1995. *Canadian Population*. Toronto: Nelson.

Despite much debate about the declining importance of families and the fragmentation of traditional values, Canadians remain fiercely loyal to the idea of family. In a 1994 Angus Reid opinion survey, two-thirds of Canadian adults strongly agreed with the statement that their families are the greatest joy in their lives.¹ Regardless of age, income, or family structure, most Canadians feel that their families are stable and satisfying, and three-quarters describe their family lives as "happy" and "full of love".² Most young adults plan to get married, have children, and stay married.³ However, 40% of Canadians strongly agree that families are in crisis.

The 1995 General Social Survey has found similar results. Almost all people both in legal marriages (98%) and common-law unions (96%) feel that a long-term relationship is important for their happiness. While the younger generation (aged 18 to 29) may be accepting of non-traditional unions, such as common-law relationships, they still believe strongly in the institution of the family. In 1995, nearly half of Canadians aged 20 to 39 intended to have two children and one-quarter expected to have three or more; few planned to have only one or no children. Married people — both men and women — wanted more children than those who were unmarried, but education influenced the number of children they wanted. Women in their thirties with a university degree intended to have fewer children than women with less education; by contrast, men with high education wanted more children than men with lower levels of schooling.

Religion also appears to play an important part in how people perceive relationships and family life. Canadians who attended religious services every week reported having happier relationships with their partners than those who did not attend services at all. Being married and having children was also more important to the personal happiness of weekly attendees than to those who did not attend.

- For more information, see "Attitudes Toward Women, Work and Family," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1997; "What influences people's plans to have children?" *Canadian Social Trends*, Spring 1998; "Religious Observance, Marriage and Family," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1998.

1. Angus Reid Group. 1994. *The State of the family in Canada: Summary Notes*.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

families was already on the rise, reversing a century-long decline in fertility. It continued to climb, reaching a peak in 1959, when the total fertility rate rose to 3.9 births per woman. According to researchers, this phenomenon, which has driven so many social and political trends since the 1950s, had several causes. For many people

who had postponed having children because of the Depression, the biological clock was ticking. After the war, the economy continued to grow, employment increased, incomes improved and the prosperity and stability of the times were conducive to raising families.¹⁰

As one might expect from the increase in post-war marriage and fertility rates, people were starting their families sooner than they had in the 1930s. During the two decades following World War II, the average age at first marriage

declined steadily. For men, it fell by more than two years, from 27.5 years in 1945 to 25.2 in 1962, while for women, it dropped by just under two years, from 24.4 to 22.5.

The post-war period also saw the living arrangements of families change, with fewer relatives and extended family members attached to the household. By about the 1950s, most families consisted of parents and dependant children, and they lived in a "breadwinner-homemaker" relationship in which the husband was employed outside the home while the wife cared for the children at home.¹¹

Of course, the war had taken its toll on families as well. In the years following the war, 14% of marriages were remarriages, in large part reflecting war widows putting their lives back together. However, the divorce rate also grew sharply, but temporarily, to 66 divorces per 100,000 population, probably as many impulsive wartime marriages were dissolved.¹² After this "correction," the rate remained low throughout the 1950s, generally staying below 40 divorces per 100,000 population.

Post-war marriage rates revisit early 1900s patterns

The high marriage rates of the immediate post-war period began to drop off in the late 1940s and continued to fall during the early 1960s. By 1963, the marriage rate had fallen to a 30-year low of 6.9 marriages per 1,000 population. This was partly due to the "marriage squeeze" Canadian women faced in these years. Women generally marry men who are older than themselves, and the low birth rates of the Depression and World War II had resulted, two decades later, in a shortage of eligible older partners. The economic slowdown from 1957 to 1961 may also have contributed

10. Foot and Stoffman. op.cit. 1998.

11. McVey and Kalbach. op.cit. 1995. p. 310.

12. Larson et al. op.cit. 1994.

to fewer marriages as young couples postponed “tying the knot” until a more favourable time. Indeed, by the mid-1960s, when economic conditions had improved and the baby boomers were old enough to marry, the marriage rates began to climb once again.

After reaching a high of 9.2 marriages per 1,000 population in 1972, marriage rates began a steady decline that continued for the next 25 years. By the early 1990s, they had declined to the point where they matched the lows recorded in the Great Depression. And they continued to fall. In 1998, the marriage rate reached an all-time low of 5 marriages per 1,000 population.

The decline in marriage was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the proportion of single people. Over the last 100 years, the proportion of younger adults who have never married has fluctuated: it was relatively high at the beginning and at the end of the century and lower in the middle. This “U-shaped” pattern is evident for both men and women. In 1996, 67% of men aged 25 to 29 had never been married compared to 35% in 1951 and 55% in 1911; the corresponding figures for women are 51%, 21%, and 32%. In recent decades, the decline in marriage has also been accompanied by a steadily rising number of couples who live together in a common-law arrangement.

As the marriage rate plummeted, the average age at first marriage started to rise again — to 29.5 years for men and 27.4 for women in 1997 — and the age difference between men and women decreased. This shrinking gap in ages points to potentially significant social changes. Younger ages at marriage are associated with less education and fewer employment opportunities and, generally, less

EST The proportion of remarriages reflects social changes

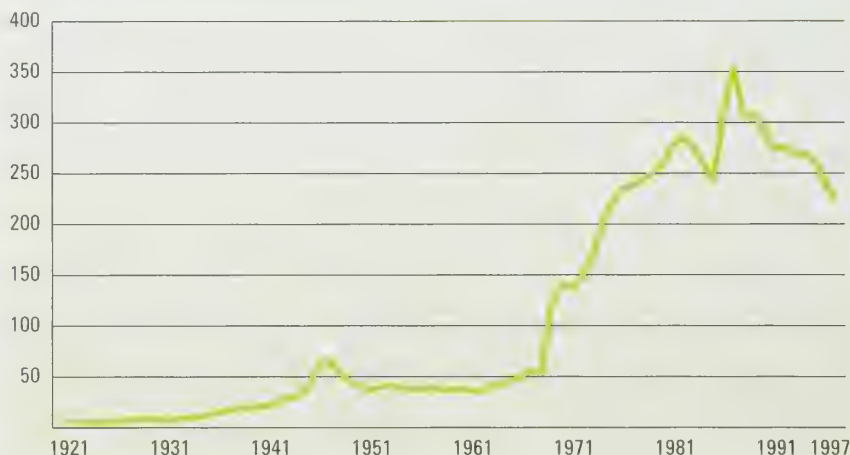
Remarriage as % of total marriages



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 91-534E and 91-209-XPE.

EST The divorce rate was fairly low until the introduction of the Divorce Act in 1968

Number of divorces per 100,000 population



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 11-516-XIE, 89-523E, 84-213-XPB and 11-001-XPE (*The Daily*, May 18, 1999).

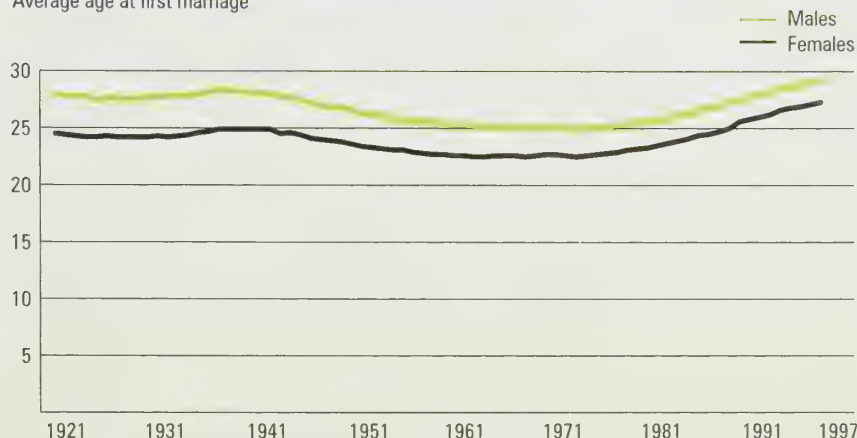
life experience. The fact that men and women are closer in age at the time of their first marriage suggests greater parity between women's and men's relative status in society.¹³

While the figures for average age at marriage and rates of marriage are

similar to those early in the century, the reasons behind them are quite different. In the early 1900s, financial or family difficulty and religious

13. McVey and Kalbach. op.cit. 1995. p. 224.

Average age at first marriage



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogues 91-534E, 84-212-XPB and 11-001-XPE (*The Daily*, January 29, 1998).

vocation probably influenced most decisions not to marry; decisions today are more likely to reflect a personal choice. Recently, social changes have eroded many traditional attitudes and practices; improved economic opportunities, especially for women, and the growing acceptance of non-marriage alternatives, such as common-law relationships, have reduced the tendency toward marrying early, and in some cases marrying at all.

Divorce Act: The end of "forever"

Before 1968, a marriage, whether good or bad, was "till death us do part" for most couples. Terminating it was difficult and frowned upon.¹⁴ The Divorce Act, introduced in 1968, changed all that. It extended the grounds for divorce to include "no-fault" divorce based on separation for at least three years. Less than two decades later, in 1986, an amendment reduced the minimum separation period to one year. These less restrictive divorce laws, combined with other social changes, created a significant shift in the way people perceived marriage, as divorce became a socially acceptable

choice for someone whose marriage did not live up to expectations.

Within a decade of the introduction of the Divorce Act in 1968, the divorce rate had jumped nearly six-fold. It rose again after the 1986 amendment, perhaps because people had postponed filing for divorce until it came into effect. Since then, however, the divorce rate has declined steadily, from a record high of 362 divorces per 100,000 population in 1987, to 223 one decade later. Some of this decline may be related to the fact that many people are reluctant to legally marry in the first place. In addition, some marriage breakdowns may be settled by a separation agreement that need not be followed by a legal divorce unless one of the spouses wants to remarry.

Baby boom gives way to baby bust

The two post-war decades of increasing birth rates reversed abruptly in the 1960s when fertility rates began a decline that continues to this day. In fact, in 1997, each woman had an average of 1.6 children, marking the lowest recorded fertility rate in

Canada's history. Several reasons account for this baby bust: for instance, contraception became more effective so that couples were better able to limit the number and plan the timing of their children; and women entered the labour force in unprecedented numbers, thereby increasing the opportunity cost of having children.

Despite the drop in the number of children women are having, the percentage of women who do not have children is really no higher than it was earlier in the 20th century. While some women choose to postpone parenthood in order to pursue education or employment opportunities, there is no evidence of a widespread rejection of parenthood. However, data do show that increasing numbers of women are having their first child at older ages. Almost one-third (31%) of first births in 1997 were to mothers aged 30 and over, compared with 19% one decade earlier. Also, births to teenage mothers have been falling for the last 20 years. The proportion of mothers under age 20 has dropped by almost half, from 11% of all births in the early 1970s to 6% throughout most of the 1990s. Delayed childbearing means that parents may be better established financially, but it may also mean that they have less time and energy for their children.¹⁵

Divorce replaces death as main cause of lone parenthood

Children born outside a union, divorce, and the death of a spouse all create lone-parent families. Although this family type makes up only a slightly higher proportion of all families today than it

14. The Vanier Institute of the Family. 1994. *Profiling Canada's Families*. Ottawa. p. 45.

15. Ibid. p. 41.

did early in the century — 12% in 1931 versus 15% in 1996 — the causes behind it have changed dramatically. While in 1931, three-quarters of all lone-parent families had lost a parent because of death, by 1996 only one-fifth were in this situation. In 1996, divorce was behind the formation of 58% of lone-parent families, compared with less than 24% in 1931. And because most mothers retain custody following a divorce, lone-parent families headed by women currently outnumber those headed by men by more than four to one.¹⁶

The growing number of births outside a union is also increasingly contributing to the creation of lone-parent families. In 1931 less than 0.5% of lone-parent families resulted from births to women without a partner; by 1996, 22% were in this situation. This may be partly due to the growing economic independence of women, some of whom can afford to raise children alone, but the decreased stigma attached to births outside marriage is probably also a contributing factor.¹⁷ Despite the growing acceptance of lone mothers, many of these women and their children face a life of economic disadvantage. Lone mothers who are young, have low levels of education and few job skills are at even greater risk of having a low income.

Remarriage leads to new family forms

Rising rates of divorce have increased dramatically the size of the population able to remarry. Being widowed renders one person eligible to remarry; being divorced theoretically returns two people to the marriage pool. As well, those who divorce are more likely than widows and widowers to remarry, because divorce tends to occur

younger in life when people may be more eager to start a new relationship. Since the 1970s, remarriage has become a relatively important factor in the formation of new relationships. In 1997, 34% of marriages involved at least one spouse who had been previously married; in almost half of these, both spouses had already been married at least once.

Living in a low-income environment: a disadvantage

Living in a low-income environment exposes children to greater difficulties throughout their formative years. Lower-income women are more likely to have babies with low birth weight, which is associated with a greater risk of health problems later in life. Living in substandard or crowded housing might expose infants and children to more illnesses, and more frequent absences from school due to illness can cause a child to fall behind academically.¹ School performance may be further affected by living conditions at home, if there is no quiet place to do homework. A poor diet, often associated with living in a low-income situation, may make concentrating on school work more difficult.

Data from the National Longitudinal Survey on Children and Youth (NLSCY) show that most families move into a low-income situation primarily as a result of family breakdown. Between 1994 and 1996, families with children were four times more likely to move into the lowest income quartile if the parents separated or divorced than if they did not break up (26% versus 6%). Movements out of low-income are associated with a parent's remarriage or with one or more parents finding employment. However, the data also suggest that exits out of low income are not rapid: seven in 10 children living in low-income families in 1994 were still living in a low-income environment in 1996.

Based on both 1994 and 1996 NLSCY data, 15% of children in low-income families had a behavioural problem, compared with 9% for children in families that were not low income in either year. Similarly, children of low-income families were more likely to have relationship problems with their parents, friends or teachers. Children in the lowest income quartile are more likely to repeat a grade than children in higher income families, and their parents and teachers are less likely to expect them to attend university. Low-income children may also be excluded from sporting or cultural activities because of a lack of funds, while adolescents may also feel pressure to seek employment in order to contribute economically to the family.

Growing up in a low-income family may increase the probability that an individual encounters low income as an adult. Analysis of tax data suggests that low income in one generation is associated with low income in the next, with children of very low-income families most likely to end up in the bottom income groups. Thus, families with low-income may produce a new generation of individuals at high risk of exposure to a low-income situation.

- For more information, see "National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, 1996-97," *The Daily*, October 28, 1998; "Getting ahead in life: Does your parents' income count?" *Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 1998.

1. Clarke, M. 1988. *Wasting our future: The effects of poverty on child development*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Children and Youth.

16. Although mothers still retain custody in the majority of cases, over time more and more fathers have become custodial parents. In 1978, almost 79% of divorces involving custody decisions granted custody to mothers, compared with 16% for fathers. By 1997, about 61% of children were awarded to mothers, 11% to fathers and almost 28% were joint custody decisions.

17. The Vanier Institute of the Family. op.cit. 1994. p. 59.

Unpaid work: What we do for our families

Without the unpaid work that Canadians do every day in support of their families and communities, things would run much less smoothly than they do now. Statistics Canada has estimated that unpaid work — activities such as childcare, home maintenance, volunteer work, helping friends, relatives and others — was worth about \$235 billion in 1992. This was about one-third the dollar value of the Gross Domestic Product, which measures the total value of goods and services produced for the market economy.

Work in the home accounts for the lion's share of unpaid work. And in most homes, women take care of most housework. In 1998, women spent almost twice as much time on unpaid housework per week (15.2 hours) as did men (8.3 hours). Although the time spent on childcare may overlap with housework, women reported devoting 18.9 hours per week to childcare, while men spent 8.3 hours on this task.¹

Another aspect of unpaid work that has been much discussed in recent years is providing care for the elderly. According to the 1996 General Social Survey, 2.1 million Canadians aged 15 and over provided some care to a senior with a long-term health problem. These care-givers devoted an average of 4.2 hours of their time per week to help with chores, assist with personal care and similar tasks. Women were more likely to be providing eldercare (61% or 1.3 million) and they also dedicated more time to this activity — an average of 5 hours per week compared with 3 hours for men.

• For more information, see "Measuring and valuing households' unpaid work," *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1996; "Eldercare in Canada: Who does how much?" *Canadian Social Trends*, Autumn 1999.

1. The hours spent on unpaid housework and childcare can overlap (e.g., a respondent who spent one hour on housework and child care at the same time would be expected to report that hour as both housework and child care). Consequently, the hours cannot be summed for a total number of hours spent on unpaid work.

Men are more likely than women to remarry. Following a divorce, women tend to get custody of children which may, among other reasons, reduce the likelihood of finding another spouse. In addition, men's tendency to marry younger women creates a larger marriage pool for men; in fact, the age differential between brides and grooms is often larger in second than in first marriages. In recent years, however, the remarriage rate has fallen, largely due to the increase in common-law unions and women's greater economic independence.

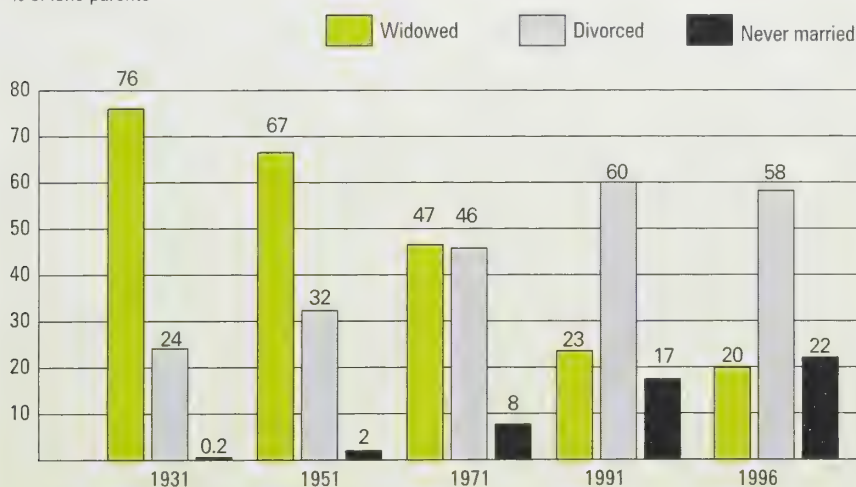
Many couples in a new marriage or common-law union have children from previous relationships. In 1994-95, nearly 9% of Canadian children under the age of 12 were living in a stepfamily. The majority of these children lived in a blended family, which most often included the couple's biological children and the wife's children from a previous relationship.

Given the complicated nature of stepfamilies, it is not surprising that many 10- and 11-year-old children in stepfamilies do not have a favourable view of their interactions with their parents. They were more likely than children from intact families to say they lack emotional support from their parents (33% compared with 27%) and to report difficulty in getting along with parents and siblings in the previous six months (44% and 28%, respectively). While parent-child relationships in stepfamilies seem more problematic than those in intact families, it is not clear if this is because of the way adults behave or the way children perceive them. Although children in stepfamilies showed more dissatisfaction with their family relationships, the majority did report that they have moderate to good experiences with their parents.

CST

Until 1971, the majority of lone parents were widowed

% of lone parents



Note: Divorced includes the category "married, spouse absent".

Sources: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Canada, Catalogues 91-535E and 94-009-XDP.

Testing the rules and boundaries of acceptable behaviour is generally associated with adolescence. According to the 1996-97 National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY), 15% of 12- and 13-year-olds reported belonging to a group that "did risky things" (such as running away from home, vandalism, stealing, fighting) during the previous 12 months, although most had done so only once or twice. Close to 31% reported that they had stolen from a store, their school or their parents at least once, and 41%, particularly boys, reported having threatened to beat someone up or having been in a fight.

Interestingly, 12- and 13-year-olds who smoked cigarettes, and/or had smoking friends, were much more likely to steal, fight, skip school, attach low importance to school grades, engage in physically aggressive behaviours and have difficult relations with their parents.

Although many young people will test the limits of acceptable behaviour, these activities do not often translate into criminal activity. In fact, less than 5% of 12- to 17-year-olds were charged with a criminal offence in 1997. About half of young people that year were charged with a property crime, most often theft, and break and enter. Violent offences, including assault and robbery, were much less frequent, accounting for about 18% of young people charged.

• For more information, see "National Longitudinal Survey on Children and Youth: Transition into Adolescence," *The Daily*, July 6, 1999; "Youth and crime," *Canadian Social Trends*, Summer 1999.

Common-law relationships becoming a new norm, especially among the young

The proportion of people who choose to live in common-law arrangements is, without doubt, on the rise. According to the 1981 Census (the first time data on common-law arrangements were collected), 6% of all couples lived common-law that year. By 1996, the proportion had increased to 12%, or about one in eight couples. If the current growth rates continue, by the year 2020, there will be as many people living in common-law relationships as in marriages.

Although common-law is most popular among the young, it is also becoming more acceptable among the older generations. In 1996, 39% of 20- to 29-year-olds who lived as a couple were in a common-law union compared with 10% of those 50 years or over. Both mark an increase from a decade before, when 22% of couples in their 20s and 5%

of those 50 years or over lived in a common-law arrangement.

In the last two decades, it has become more acceptable to bring up children in a common-law relationship. Although childbearing in common-law unions is still less frequent than in marriages, almost half of common-law families (47%) in 1996 included children, whether born in the current union or in a previous relationship. In comparison, in 1981 34% of common-law families had had children. Across Canada, over one-tenth of all children under the age of 14 were living in a common-law family in 1996.

Although common-law unions are on the rise, they continue to be less stable than marriages. If a common-law union does not turn into a legal marriage, about half dissolve within five years. And if people in common-law unions eventually marry, they are still more likely to separate than people who married without living common-law.

Family forms change and new life cycle stages emerge

Families continue to be affected by changes occurring outside the home. The patterns of recent decades suggest a return to the malleable family forms experienced early in the century. Now, as then, family members move into and out of households as old relationships shift and new family units are created. For example, since the 1960s, the expansion of postsecondary institutions, along with a decline in social pressure to marry, has extended the period of adolescence. Although the proportion of young adults who lived with their parents decreased between 1971 and 1981, the 1996 Census shows that young adults are now once again more likely to live in the family home. Between 1981 and 1996, the proportion of 20- to 24-year-old single women who lived with their parents rose from 60% to 67%. The corresponding figures for men were 69% and 74%, respectively. Much of the growth in this age group may be explained by children's continued attendance at university or college (that is, extended adolescence). What is more notable is the increase in the percentage of 25- to 34-year-olds living at home: 33% of women and 40% of men in 1996, up from 23% and 28% in 1986. The recession of the early 1990s, and the slow recovery that followed, likely played a part in their decision to live at home.

Lower fertility and mortality rates as well as higher life expectancy have created other new stages in the family life cycle. In addition to an extended period of adolescence, the empty-nest stage between the last child's departure from the family home and the death of one of the spouses is now common. Whereas this stage was virtually non-existent for the average couple in the mid-

nineteenth century, a woman born between 1951 and 1960 can expect to share an empty nest with her spouse for about 24 years.¹⁸

Recently, Canada has seen a growth in the number of three generation households. Certainly nuclear families are still most common — grandparents, parents, and grandchildren living together represent less than 3% of all family households — but the number of three-generation households in Canada grew from about 150,000 in 1986 to more than 208,000 in 1996. Although the number is not high, these types of households grew twice as fast as the number of all family households. Nearly half of all three-generation households in 1996 were headed by immigrants. With longer life expectancy, an aging population, and high levels of immigration, three-generation households may become more common.

Future trends

Most Canadians will continue to marry and have children in the 21st century. However, marital histories are becoming more complex. Common-law unions, delayed marriages or no marriage at all will probably increase, especially with the pursuit of higher education and employment by both men and women. Divorce will likely remain an option when relationships no longer fulfill the expectations of one or both partners. But if people continue to marry at older ages, the divorce rate may drop, as younger age at marriage is associated with a higher risk of divorce. Meanwhile, people in same-sex unions are gradually winning social recognition for their unions and legal rights similar to those of heterosexual couples.

The family-related trends of those aged 65 and over are of par-

18. Gee. op.cit. 1987.

Parenting style makes a difference

Parenting style refers to the way parents interact physically and emotionally with their children. An effective parenting style nurtures and disciplines children while supporting their emotional, physical, social, and psychological development. Successful parents can produce an environment in which children regard themselves positively, believe in their own competence, and feel that they are worthy of giving and receiving love.¹

Analysis of the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth shows that poor parenting practices are strongly associated with relationship and behavioural problems in children. Children who did not have positive interaction with their parents were twice as likely to show persistent behavioural problems as children who did have positive interaction. Similarly, children whose parents employed ineffective parenting techniques were nine times more likely to exhibit behavioural problems than children who were not exposed to this type of parenting.

Children who were "at risk" — ones who lived in lone-parent families, in families with low income or low parental education, in dysfunctional families, or who had experienced prenatal problems — generally had lower developmental scores and more behavioural problems than those who were not at risk. Good parenting, however, can make a difference in these difficult circumstances. Children who were at risk but had positive parenting scored at least as high as children in more favourable circumstances who received negative parenting. Clearly, many things can affect a child's outcomes, but good parenting can counterbalance the negative effects of certain risk factors.

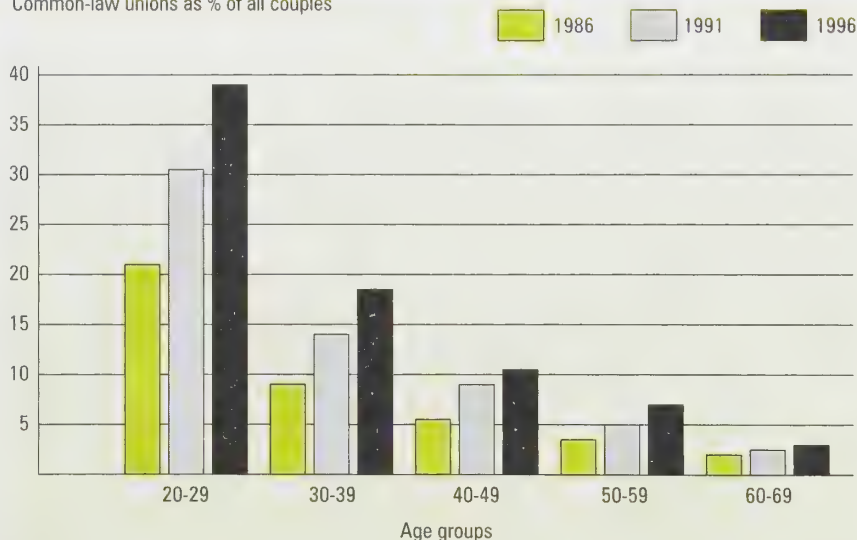
• For more information, see "National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, Cycle 2, 1996-97," *The Daily*, October 28, 1998.

1. Cassidy, J., R. Parke, L. Butkovsky and K. Braungart. 1992. "Family-Peer Connections: The Roles of Emotional Expressiveness within the Family and Children's Understanding of Emotions." *Child Development*. 63: 603-618.

CST

Common-law unions are increasing for all age groups but still are most frequent among the young

Common-law unions as % of all couples



Sources: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 92-353XPB and author's calculations.

Violence in the family affects everyone in the family, even if they themselves are not the victims. Parents assault children, both men and women assault their spouses, and the elderly may be victimized by their adult children.

Women were more likely to be victimized by a spouse, either married or common-law, than were men.¹ In 1997, 88% of victims of spousal assault (19,575) were women. During the four years between 1993 and 1997, the number of women assaulted by their spouse decreased 8%, while the number of male victims increased 18%. When an assault becomes murderous, though, women are still more likely to be the victims: between 1978 and 1997, over three times as many wives (1,485) as husbands (442) were killed by their spouses.

Children are among the most vulnerable family members and violence often has the most substantial effect on their lives. In 1997, 5,300 children under 18 years were victimized within families. Most were assaulted by their own parents, who accounted for 65% of family members charged with physical assault and 44% of those charged with sexual assault. Fathers committed almost all sexual assaults (97%) and most (71%) physical assaults. Parents were also responsible for nearly eight in 10 homicides of children under age 18. The number of parents charged with killing their children (more than one-half of whom were under age three) has risen over the past decade. In 1997, fathers were implicated in 37 homicides and mothers, in 25.

Violence against seniors represents another, little-recognized, aspect of family violence. In 1997, 2,300 men and women over age 64 were victims of violent crimes, representing 2% of the total. Despite most seniors' fear of being mugged by a stranger, once again, family members were implicated in 29% of all violent incidents against senior women and 17% of those against senior men. Senior men were more likely to be victimized by their adult children (41%) than by a spouse (28%), while older women were equally likely to have been victimized by their adult children or their spouse (40% each).

• For more information, see *Family violence in Canada: A statistical profile 1999*. Statistics Canada Catalogue 85-224-XIE. pp. 23 and 28.

1. 179 police forces provided data, representing only 48% of the national volume of reported crime. Consequently, the information is not nationally representative.

tical significance, given that life expectancy is increasing and the proportion of elderly in the population is rising. Growing up in an era in which alternative options were scarce, most seniors today adopted the "traditional" family approach to marriage and childbearing that was expected of them. However, the changes affecting younger generations — the general acceptance of common-law unions, non-marital childbearing and divorce — are

likely to create a future generation of seniors with more diverse family characteristics.

Immigration patterns in recent decades are also contributing to the variety of family forms.¹⁹ Immigrants coming from Asia, the Caribbean, and Central and South America have increased in number, bringing with them different family traditions, such as a greater reliance on the extended family for social, emotional and financial support.

Summary

Canadian families have both changed and remained the same during the past century. While most people still marry and have children, marriages are less apt to last for a lifetime. People also marry later in life and have fewer children than ever before. Perhaps most striking over the past century is the dynamic between the size and composition of family and social and economic conditions. In periods of financial difficulties — for example, during the Depression — both marriage and fertility rates decreased. In times of prosperity, such as the era following World War II, the popularity of marriage and large families increased. The impact of legislative changes is evident in the increased divorce rates following the 1968 and 1986 Divorce Acts. The last decades of the 20th century have brought greater individualism and more choice, giving rise to new living arrangements. This pattern of both change and continuity is likely to be a defining characteristic of families into the 21st century.



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19. Ward. op.cit. 1998.

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The changing face of conjugal relationships

by **Céline Le Bourdais, Ghyslaine Neill and Pierre Turcotte**
with the collaboration of **Nathalie Vachon and Julie Archambault**

The vast majority of Canadian women form conjugal relationships at some point in their lives. Whether born in the 1920s, the mid-1960s or any decade in between, nearly all women have been in a marriage or common-law relationship at least once; in 1995, over 94% of women ranging in age from 30 to 69 reported that they had entered at least one such union. Although the proportion was somewhat lower for the 20- to 29-year-old group (87%), it is likely to rise for these women as they grow older.

While the tendency for women to form unions has remained consistently high over the years, the nature of these unions has changed fundamentally. Although marriage still accounts for the majority of relationships, its one-time near-universal appeal has given way to ever more popular common-law unions. Using data from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS), this article examines how the types of conjugal unions women enter have changed over time. It also asks if starting life together in a common-law union as

What you should know about this study

Data in this article come from the 1995 General Social Survey (GSS), which interviewed nearly 11,000 respondents aged 15 years and over living in private households in the 10 provinces. The survey collected data on all marital and common-law unions, on separation, divorce and the death of a partner, along with a broad range of background characteristics. This study uses a sample of 4,656 female respondents aged 20 to 69 years.

Life tables were used to analyze the probability of transitions in and out of unions. All women were assumed to be single at age 15; after that, they were assumed to be exposed to the possibility of entering a union, either marital or common-law. Each transition (first marriage, first common-law arrangement, first separation, second marriage, etc.) was analyzed according to the past conjugal history of each woman. For example, the likelihood of experiencing a separation for the first time was measured separately for women who married directly and for those who started their conjugal life through common-law. This method acknowledged that a woman's propensity to part from her partner may be affected by her previous conjugal experience.

Separation: in this article the word separation has no legal standing. It is used simply to define the end of a relationship resulting from causes other than death.

Common-law union: all common-law relationships are self-reported and could refer to unions of any duration.

Proportion of all women experiencing	Age in 1995				
	60-69	50-59	40-49	30-39	20-29
	Born in				
	1926-1935	1936-1945	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975
At least one union	96	97	96	94	87
At least one marriage	96	95	92	84	66
First union starts with marriage	95	91	78	56	35
At least one common-law union	8	22	35	49	59
First union starts with common-law union	1	6	18	38	52
At least one separation	25	32	40	43	--
At least two unions	14	27	34	39	--
At least two separations	8	13	16	--	--

-- Sample too small to produce reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995.

opposed to a marriage influences the chances of the relationship breaking up or predicts the types of relationships that may follow. Although this article focuses on women, its results generally apply to men as well.

Increasingly, women choose to live common-law

The proportion of women who started their first conjugal union in a marriage fell from 95% of those in their 60s to 56% of women in their 30s and to a still lower 35% of those in their 20s. Clearly, common-law has become younger people's favoured arrangement for a first conjugal relationship. While only 1% of women aged 60 to 69 lived common-law in their first union, 38% of 30- to 39-year-olds and 52% of 20- to 29-year-olds started conjugal life with this option.

Of course, having chosen one type of arrangement for a first union does not preclude the even-

tual possibility of the other. Many women who started their relationship through common-law have subsequently married, while those who married first and then separated are increasingly deciding to live in a common-law relationship in their subsequent unions. However, compared with their older counterparts, young women are less inclined to marry their first partner and, instead, are more likely to continue living common-law, thus increasing the average duration of these common-law unions.

Women enter common-law arrangements at different stages in their lives, depending on the generation they belong to. The vast majority of women aged 20 to 29 who lived common-law did so in their first conjugal union. These women grew up in times when living together without marriage had been accepted by most people as a legitimate way of settling into a relationship. In contrast, women in

the 50- to 59-year-old group — most of whom came of age in an era when common-law relationships were frowned upon — were nearly three times as likely to enter a common-law relationship after their first marriage ended than for their first conjugal union. For younger generations, then, common-law serves mostly as a prelude or an alternative to marriage, while for older women it is a prelude or an alternative to remarriage.

Starting conjugal life through common-law nearly doubles likelihood of separation

Over the years, the likelihood of a first relationship ending in divorce or separation has increased significantly. Whereas 25% of women aged 60 to 69 had experienced a break-up at some point in their lives, over 40% of those in their 30s and 40s had already gone through one. The fact that the percentage of women in their 30s who separated (43%) is higher than the percentage in their 40s (40%) suggests that break-downs of first unions are happening earlier in life. Furthermore, their frequency is also on the rise: the percentage of women who have gone through at least two separations has increased from 8% of 60- to 69-year-olds to 16% of those in their 40s.

Starting conjugal life in a common-law relationship, as opposed to a marriage, sharply increases the probability of this first union ending in separation. And whether the common-law partners eventually marry or not makes little difference: the risk of separation is just as high. In the 30- to 39-year group, for example, almost two-thirds (63%) of those whose first relationship was common-law had separated by 1995, compared with one-third (33%) of women who had married first. A similar pattern appears

among women in their 40s: those who lived common-law at first were much more likely to separate than those who married first (60% versus 36%).

Second relationships very common

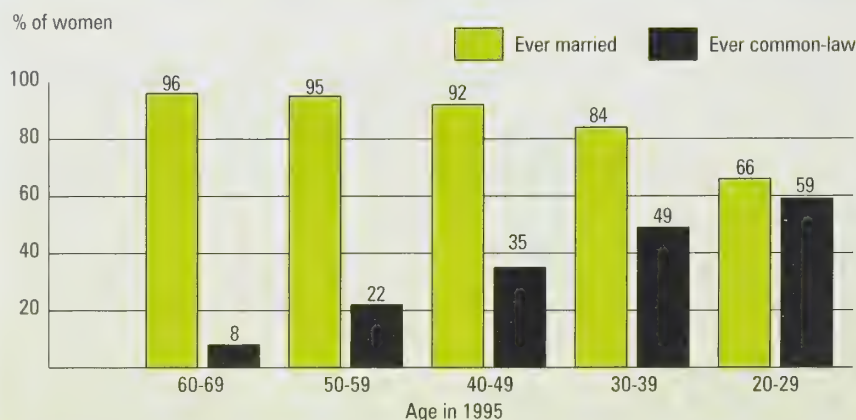
The increase in the break-up of couples has resulted in more women being potentially available to enter a second relationship. Indeed, the proportion of women who had experienced at least two unions (marital or common-law) nearly tripled from the older to the younger generations, rising from 14% among those in their 60s to 39% among those in their 30s. It appears that separation, followed by subsequent conjugal relationships, has become a common experience for many women in the last three decades of the 20th century.

Women whose first marriage had dissolved were very likely to form another union: in the 30- to 39-year age group, for example, nearly nine in 10 women entered a new relationship after their first had ended. Women in the oldest generation were least likely to form a new union after the collapse of their first marriage, but more than half still did so. In all age groups, previously-married women were more likely to choose to live common-law in their second relationship than to remarry. And if they were in their 30s or 40s, they were twice as likely to do so.

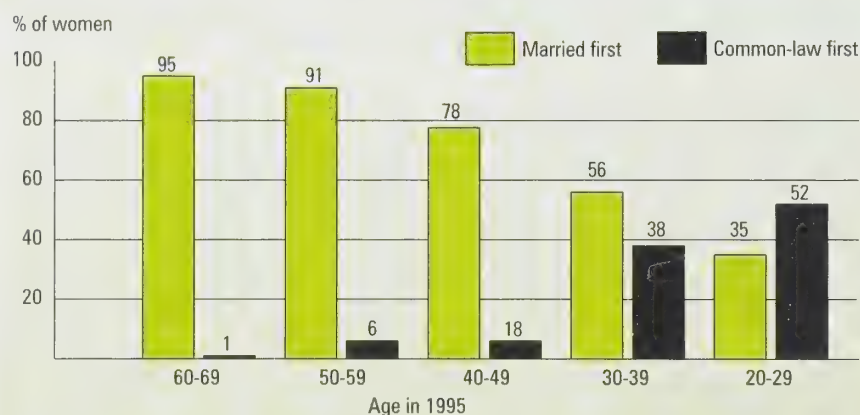
Women who had started their conjugal life in a common-law relationship were just as likely to form new relationships if their union collapsed as those who had married first. However, they were substantially more likely to prefer common-law for their second relationship than were married-first women. While married-first women in their 30s were twice as likely to choose common-law as marriage for

CST

While a common-law union is increasingly common among women in all age groups



... twenty-something women are most likely to start off common-law



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995

CST

Women whose first conjugal union was common-law were nearly twice as likely to separate

Proportion of women separating if	Age in 1995			
	60-69	50-59	40-49	30-39
	Born in			
	1926-1935	1936-1945	1946-1955	1956-1965
Married first	25	30	36	33
Common-law first (including those separated after marrying their partner)	--	77	60	63

-- Sample too small to produce reliable estimate.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1995.

Recent research into the nature of common-law relationships and the role that economic circumstances play in their dissolution — whether through marriage or separation — reveal some interesting results. In general, these studies show that common-law relationships tend to be temporary and transitory, that more often than not they transform into marriage, and that men are more likely than women to end them through separation.

More specifically, researchers have found a strong association between the economic circumstances of the couple and the chance that their union will end or transform into marriage. They have also discovered that men and women react in different ways in similar situations.

The better a woman's economic position is, the less likely she is to marry her common-law partner and the more likely she is to leave the union. Greater financial independence may reduce women's dependence on men and hence the desirability of marriage. Indeed, data show that the common-law unions of semi-professional and skilled women are more likely to end in separation than in marriage. In contrast, professional and semi-professional men are more likely to marry their common-law partners.

- For more information, see W. Zheng and M. Pollard. July 1998. *Economic Circumstances and the Stability of Nonmarital Cohabitation*. The Income and Labour Dynamics Working Paper Series (Statistics Canada Catalogue 98-10).

their second union, women whose first relationship was common-law were six times more likely to do so.

Summary

In Canada, the last few decades have seen a decrease in marriages, a rise in common-law relationships, and an increase in the break-up of all unions. People today have more options in choosing the types of conjugal relationships they wish to have. While women born in the 1920s and 1930s had little choice but to marry, common-law unions are now accepted and they have become increasingly popular with young Canadians. However, the instability of many common-law arrangements, and the rising rate of dissolution of all unions, suggest

that more people may spend more time living alone or, alternatively, may be involved in more short-term relationships.



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An analysis of the frequency of contact between neighbours.

Community involvement: the enduring influence of upbringing

Are people who took part in community activities in their youth more likely to be volunteers in their adulthood?

Traffic report: Weekday commuting patterns

by Warren Clark

Travel patterns for the typical Canadian have become more diverse, precipitated by urban development patterns, changing family structures, two-wage earner families and a work-day world that increasingly spans 24 hours. So, if you feel like you've been spending more time in traffic tie-ups, you've got company. Across Canada, traffic congestion is increasing.

Between 1985 and 1997 passenger vehicle registrations grew by 21%, outstripping the growth in the road system.¹ Not only are more Canadians driving cars, they are driving longer distances.² Thus, according to Statistics Canada's 1998 General Social Survey (GSS), on an average weekday Canadians spent 6 more minutes travelling by car or 12 minutes more by public transit than they did in 1986. The result is traffic jams.



What you should know about this study

During 1998, Statistics Canada interviewed about 10,700 people aged 15 and over living in households in the 10 provinces in the General Social Survey to discover how they used their time. Respondents indicated what activities they performed, where, and with whom they interacted during these activities and at what times over a 24-hour period. Interviewing occurred between February and December 1998. The results presented in this article reflect what people did on a typical day. Because paid work is usually concentrated on weekdays, most of the results shown in this article refer to activities on an average weekday. Travel times on particular days may be better or worse than the averages presented here.

As used in this article, "commuting" refers to all travel on the way to and from work, including the travel time of side trips for shopping or other errands.

Many other factors also contribute to traffic congestion. Road construction, bad weather and traffic accidents cause short-term slow-downs. But long-term trends in society result in lasting additions to traffic congestion. These trends include the desire to live in low-density neighbourhoods, thereby spreading housing over wider areas; more intensive use of automobiles, which allows commuters to work and live where they choose; and

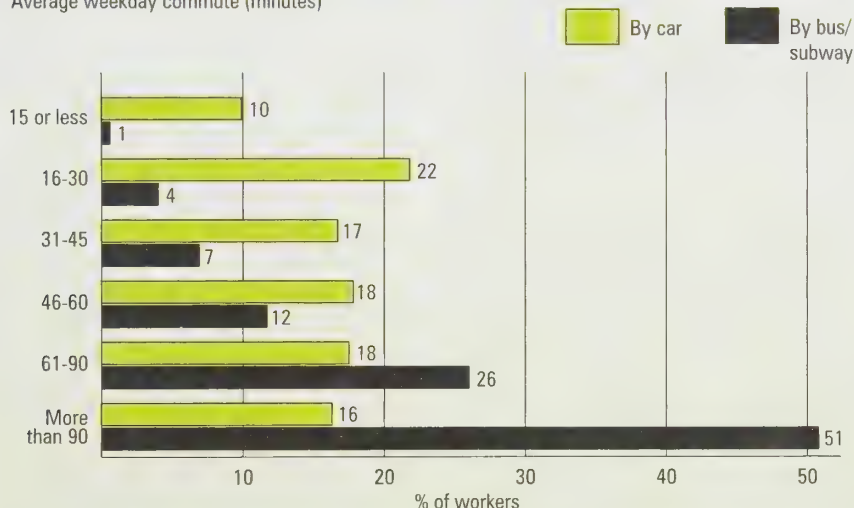
1. The road system, measured in lane-kilometres, grew by 7% between 1985 and 1995. Transportation Association of Canada, *Transportation in Canada: A Statistical Overview — 1995*. Ottawa: Transport Canada, 1997.
2. Between 1987 and 1996 the average annual distance traveled by private cars and mini-vans increased by 5.7%. Automobile mobility data compendium, *info data: mobility environment safety*. Québec: Laval University February 1999, Volume 4, No. 1, <http://www.grimes.ulaval.ca/cdma>.

Reason for travel	Participants	Average time spent travelling by participants
	(% of population)	(Minutes)
Commuting	47	62
Shopping	34	39
Entertainment or socializing	23	44
Personal care or meals	13	25
To provide care	10	47
Participation in hobbies and sports	9	57
Education	8	53
Volunteer or religious activities	6	42

Note: Includes car, bus, subway, walking, bicycle and other modes of transportation.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

Average weekday commute (minutes)



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

concentration of commuting at particular times of the day.³ These issues present special challenges to transportation planners trying to satisfy the needs of a time-stressed workforce.

This article examines travel times on an average weekday. It focuses on why people travel, what mode of transportation is most popular and how our work patterns contribute to congestion.

Commuting largest flow of weekday traffic

The most common reason for weekday travel was commuting to and from work, which was done by 11.4 million Canadians (47% of the adult population) and averaged 62 minutes per day, concentrated around peak travel times. Other popular trips were for shopping (34%) and entertainment or socializing (23%). These trips tended to

be shorter and less concentrated at particular times than commuting, thus contributing less to traffic congestion. Trips to school, university or college are the most common weekday travel activity for younger adults and are just as long as commutes to work.

Car is king

On a typical weekday in 1998, 75% of the adult population went somewhere by car, compared with 70% in 1986. Many reasons account for the car's popularity. Drivers are freed from the constraints of fixed routes and schedules of public transit. They can choose more destinations, select their companions (if any), carry a greater load, never have to stand, and stop for refreshment whenever they want.⁴ For this convenience, automobile owners trade off costs in maintenance, insurance, fuel and depreciation costs for their vehicle.

The extreme popularity of travel by car would not be a problem if everyone chose different times to travel, but our work schedules dictate that most people travel during the morning and afternoon rush hours. Furthermore, people who use automobiles are increasingly driving alone. According to the 1998 GSS, 77% of commuters were alone, up from 69% in 1986.

Travel is not uniform throughout the day

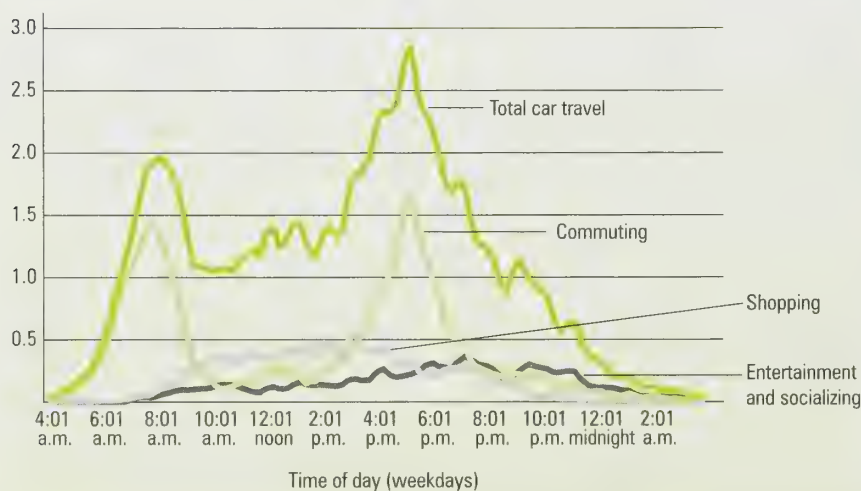
Weekday car travel peaks at around 8 a.m. and again just after 5:00 p.m.:

3. Downs, A. 1992. *Stuck in Traffic — Coping with Peak Hour Traffic Congestion*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

4. Dunn, J. A. Jr. 1998. *Driving Forces — the automobile, its enemies, and the politics of mobility*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Weekday car travel peaks at 8 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Millions of adults aged 15 and over



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998

Average travel time going to and from work has risen for most commuters

People living in	1986	1998
	(Minutes)	
Traveling by car		
Canada	56	58
Montréal	63	60
Toronto	67	70
Vancouver	58	70
Mid-size CMAs ¹	61	57
Small CMAs ²	48	49
Other cities and towns	48	54
Rural	50	56
Travelling by bus or subway		
Canada	85	100

1. Includes Ottawa-Hull, Edmonton, Calgary, Quebec City, Winnipeg, Hamilton, London and Kitchener.

2. Includes St. Catharines-Niagara, Halifax, Victoria, Windsor, Oshawa, Saskatoon, Regina, St. John's, Chicoutimi, Sudbury, Sherbrooke, Trois Rivières, Thunder Bay and Saint John.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.

8% (2.0 million) and 12% (2.8 million) of the adult population are on the move by car at these times, respectively. These peaks in car travel occur during prime commuting time as people go to and from work. At the morning peak,

two-thirds of car users are commuters but during the afternoon rush only 58% are commuters. Many people who made other types of trips during the day are returning home at the same time of day as commuters.

Side trips add to commuting times

On an average weekday in 1998, Canadians spent 58 minutes traveling to and from work by car. About one-third of car commuters made side trips on their way. This added 37 minutes to the travel time of those who stopped to pick up groceries, drop off or pick up a child or run other errands on their way to or from work. Such side trips, most of which occur during peak travel hours, also contribute to traffic congestion.

Women have different household responsibilities compared with men, and their use of the car during their daily commute reflects this division of labour. Men typically travel more in the context of earning a living, while women commuters balance work-related travel with travel for family and personal matters. Consequently, women juggling child-related responsibilities with work responsibilities and household management obligations often link trips together and make more stops on the way home from work. According to the 1998 GSS, on an average weekday, 41% of women made at least one stop on the way home from work, compared with 28% of men. If they had children under age 5, however, two-thirds of women made a stop compared with about one-third of men (30%).

Big cities mean long commutes

The 1996 Census showed that Canadian workers commute a median distance of 7.0 kilometers to work.⁵ Yet for people working in Canada's biggest cities where traffic congestion is a problem (Toronto,

5. The median represents the one-way straight-line distance between the place of work and place of residence where half of the population travels further and half travels less than that distance.

Public transit ridership declined between 1990 and 1996, from 1.53 billion to 1.37 billion passenger trips, a loss of nearly 160 million trips. Ridership recovered marginally, to 1.43 billion passenger-trips, in 1998.¹ Declining passenger use during the early 1990s may have been related to high levels of unemployment during the recession, when fewer commuters were travelling to work. The recent improvement could be due to higher employment levels; it may also be related to demographic shifts as the baby boom echo children enter their peak transit riding years.²

The heaviest adult users of public transit are 15- to 24-year-olds: on an average weekday in 1998, 22% of them used it. Even in this age group, though, driving, riding in a car or simply walking were more common than public transit use. Transit use generally decreases with rising age; by the time they reach age 55 to 64, only 4% of the population uses public transit.

Public transit authorities are attempting to increase ridership by attracting car drivers with park and ride facilities. These facilities are located at main transit "gateways" where drivers can park their cars (free or at reduced cost) and continue their journey by bus, subway or commuter rail. It is argued that these arrangements may reduce commuters' total

travel time. However, on a typical weekday in 1998, only 1% of people who drove their cars also used public transit.

Although some people may find public transit less strenuous than stop-and-go driving, it is unlikely to be viewed as a way of relieving time-stress by busy workers. More and more Canadian workers are feeling time crunched — full-time workers experiencing high levels of time stress increased from 19% in 1992 to 25% in 1998 — and the convenience of car travel is apparent when comparing commuting times. On a typical weekday, car drivers spent an average of 58 minutes on the road compared to 100 minutes for bus/subway riders.

Urban sprawl is increasing pressure on public transit authorities to service a wider geographic area. Yet public transit works best when large numbers of people need to be moved to a few destinations. With the urban model we have now in many cities, it may become increasingly costly to try to provide adequate service to far-flung suburbs.

1. Statistics Canada Catalogue 53-215-XPB, *Passenger Bus and Urban Transit Statistics*.
2. Foot, D. K. and D. Stoffman. 1998. *Boom, Bust & Echo 2000: Profiting from the demographic shift in the new millenium*. Toronto: Macfarlane, Walter & Ross. p.186

Montréal and Vancouver), one in six workers commuted 20 kilometers or more. In Toronto and Vancouver, car drivers spent an average of about 70 minutes on the road travelling to and from work on an average weekday, while Montrealers spent 60 minutes. However, one in five car drivers living in these three large cities spent more than 90 minutes driving to and from work. Since about 6% of people who work in the Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver census metropolitan areas (CMAs) actually live in the surrounding cities, towns and rural areas, they are likely to have even longer commutes. Not only must they contend with longer distances,

but also with the traffic congestion of these large cities. Commuting in mid-sized CMAs takes almost as long as in the large cities, though. And while smaller cities and rural areas do not experience the same level of congestion as Canada's metropolises, commuting times in these centres increased between 1986 and 1998.

Can telecommunications reduce gridlock?

Telecommunications technologies offer the promise of reducing the need to travel by allowing people to substitute a fax, telephone or modem link for their physical presence. Telework, which substitutes working at

home for commuting to the workplace, is probably the best known. For time-pressed people with many work and household responsibilities, telecommunications technologies offer the opportunity to work, shop or bank at home.⁶ Time saved in these ways is time available for family, professional development or leisure activities.

6. In 1998, only 3% of households purchased something over the Internet from their home and 5% used electronic banking from their home. Dickenson, P. and J. Ellison. 1999. "Getting connected or staying unplugged: The growing use of computer communications services," *Service Indicators 1st Quarter 1999*. Statistics Canada Catalogue 63-016-XIB.

However, paid work at home remains uncommon among Canadians so far. According to the 1998 GSS, 16% of workers had worked at home during the previous week for an average of 17 hours. As these hours suggest, most still go in to their place of work: on an average weekday, 60% of people who sometimes worked at home went in to work. Furthermore, home workers spent more time commuting when they did go to work — an average of 62 minutes compared with 50 minutes for people who didn't work at home — probably because they live in more remote locations. The GSS data show that people who work at home do not cease to go to the office: they simply travel there less frequently.

Summary

Canadians are spending more time on the road and are increasingly driving alone. Although one might

expect that flexible work hours, work-at-home strategies and multi-passenger vehicle use would reduce traffic during peak hours, traffic patterns still show that 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. are the busiest times on the road. With their crowded schedules, many people, especially women, make multiple stops on the way to and from work to complete family errands. These additional activities save time for drivers by chaining trips together, but they also contribute to traffic congestion.

Warren Clark is a senior analyst with Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

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Stateward bound

by Jeff Frank and Éric Bélair

Concern over the movement of skilled workers to the United States is not a new development in Canada's history. But the "brain drain" has received greater attention in the late 1990s for a number of reasons. These reasons include the growth of the knowledge economy and the rocketing demand for highly educated and skilled workers on both sides of the border. This demand may be higher in the United States where the economy has been thriving and where many knowledge-based industries are located. The competition for workers has probably been made more fierce by the North American Free Trade Agreement, which makes it easier for Canadians in a range of occupations to enter the United States as temporary workers.

This article describes one group of Canadian postsecondary graduates, the Class of '95, who relocated to the United States between the time they graduated in 1995 and the summer of 1997. It explores why these graduates left for the United States and what they were doing there, and estimates how many returned to Canada between the summer of 1997 and March 1999.

This study is adapted from *South of the Border: Graduates from the Class of '95 who moved to the United States*, Statistics Canada and Human Resources Development Canada, Statistics Canada Catalogue 81-587-XPB.

The most highly qualified leave

About 4,600 of the 300,000 people who graduated from a Canadian postsecondary institution in 1995 (1.5%) moved to the United States between their graduation and the summer of 1997. The most talented graduates were most likely to leave — about 44% of movers had been in the top 10% of their graduating class¹ and 12% held Ph.D.s.

University graduates with degrees in the health professions, engineering and applied sciences were most likely to emigrate. For example, 20% of university graduates who moved to the States were from the health professions compared with only 8% of those who remained in Canada. Similarly, 54% of college graduates who moved to the States were from health-related fields, primarily nursing, while only 15% of those who stayed were from that field. This over-representation of health professionals among graduates who relocated is likely related to the health care reforms in Canada that significantly reduced the number of nursing jobs.

Most move to work

"Work" was the most common reason graduates gave for moving to the United States. Over half (57%) moved south mainly for work, while 23% moved to go to college or university and another 17% moved mainly for marriage or relationship reasons. Men and women were equally likely to move for work-related reasons while most who moved for education reasons were men.

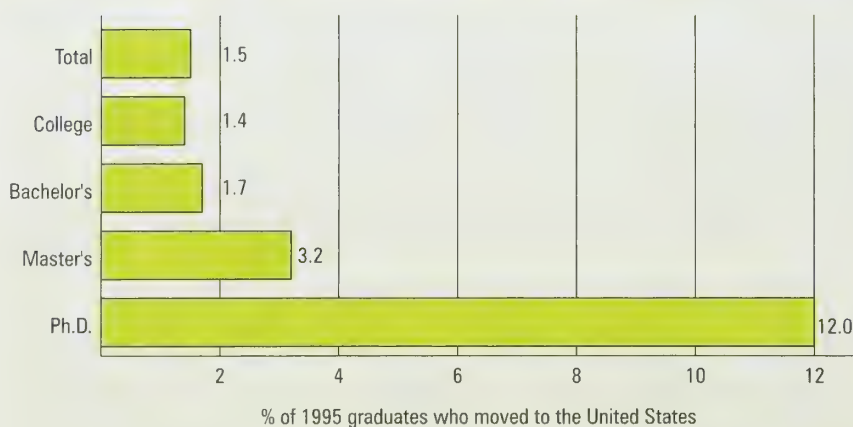
Nearly two-thirds (64%) of all the graduates who moved to the United States had a job already waiting for them. Not surprisingly, 89% of those who moved for work-related reasons had already arranged for a job before moving; however, 32% of those who moved for other reasons had also managed to line one up. Of these 3,000 graduates with jobs, most had found employment through their own initiative: by responding to job advertisements, using personal contacts or by sending out résumés and applications on their own. Very few graduates were contacted directly by an American employer or head-hunter. Thus the popular perception that large numbers of recent graduates are being aggressively recruited by American employers did not apply to the Class of '95; in fact, most grads found work in the United States using traditional job search methods.

Graduates who moved for work-related reasons also reported what work-related factors had attracted them to the United States. The most common factors shared the theme of "opportunity." Greater availability of jobs, both in particular fields and in general; better chances to gain or develop skills; and better career advancement opportunities: all were among the most common responses. Higher salaries was also a common factor encouraging graduates to emigrate to the States.

1. Self-reported rank in graduating class in graduate's field of study.

Data in this article were collected through the Survey of 1995 Graduates Who Moved to the United States (SGMUS) and the National Survey of 1995 Graduates (NGS). The SGMUS was commissioned by Human Resources Development Canada and conducted by Statistics Canada in March 1999. The survey interviewed university and college graduates from the Class of '95 who were living in the United States as of the summer of 1997. The NGS was conducted in the summer of 1997. Graduates who were found to be living in the United States at that time and who were not interviewed for the NGS formed the sample for the SGMUS. American citizens who graduated from Canadian universities and colleges and returned home to the United States are not included in this analysis.

Comparisons of education-job match and annual earnings of graduates who stayed in Canada with those who moved to the United States are imperfect because of differences in the two surveys' reference dates. Graduates who moved to the United States did so at various times between graduation in 1995 and the summer of 1997. They provided information about the job they took upon arriving in the United States. In contrast, graduates who remained in Canada were asked about their job in summer 1997. This difference favours those who remained in Canada because they may have had more time (potentially as much as two years) in which to gain promotions or seniority by the time they were interviewed.



Sources: Statistics Canada, Survey of 1995 Graduates Who Moved to the United States, 1999 and National Survey of 1995 Graduates, 1997.

Surprisingly, given the volume of the debate and the extensive media coverage of this issue, an insignificant proportion of graduates

explicitly said that lower income taxes in the United States were a significant factor in their decision to work there. For some, however,

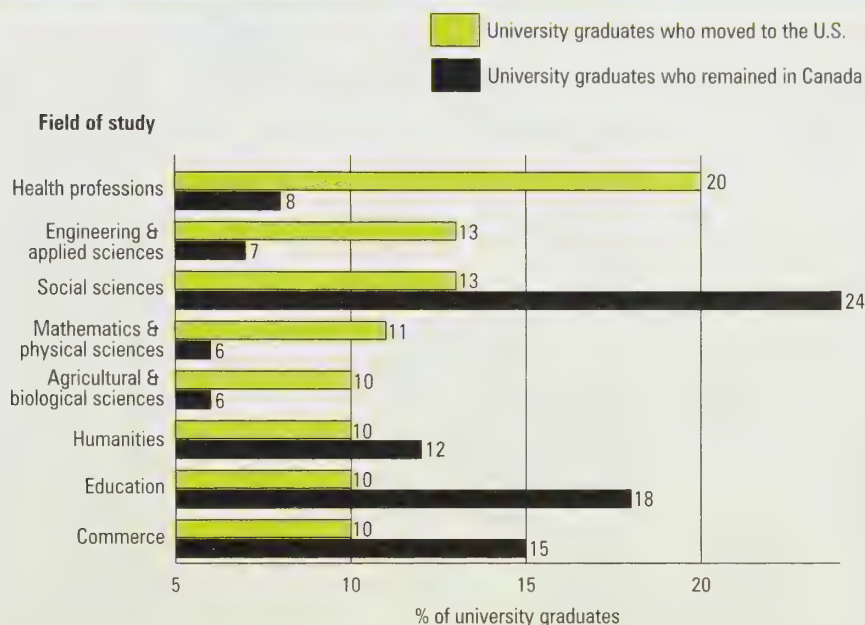
lower taxes may have been implicit in identifying higher salaries. Also, differences between Canadian and American personal income tax rates tend to be smaller at the lower income levels common in entry level jobs, and graduates may have been more concerned about finding work in their field than in the level of taxation.

Did they get what they wanted?

Graduates who moved to work in the United States did so to find better work opportunities and higher salaries. For the most part, they were successful. Graduates who moved south acquired jobs more closely matched to their education than those graduates who remained in Canada. For example, 85% of engineering and applied sciences graduates who moved to the United States reported having a job "closely related" to their education compared with 58% of their counterparts who remained in Canada. The gap for graduates from the health field was about the same: 98% of graduates who moved to the U.S. versus 72% of those who remained in Canada.

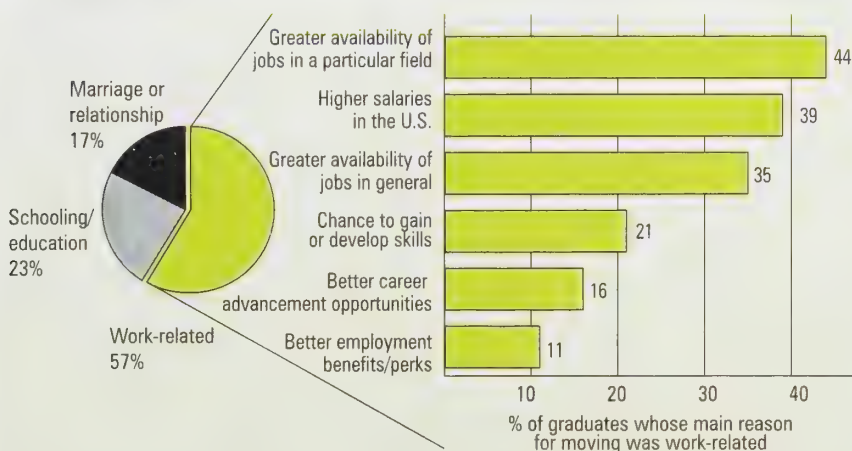
Graduates working in the United States also had higher earnings. The difference was greatest among college graduates where the median annual salary upon arrival in the United States was 76% higher (\$42,600 in 1999 Canadian dollars) than those who remained in Canada (\$24,200). At the bachelor's degree level, the median salary of movers was 42% higher (\$43,400 versus \$30,500).

However, movers to the United States were concentrated in the high-earning engineering and health fields and they were often at the top of their class academically. A comparison of bachelor's degree graduates by occupational group reveals a narrower gap. For instance,



Sources: Statistics Canada, Survey of 1995 Graduates Who Moved to the United States, 1999 and National Survey of 1995 Graduates, 1997.

Reasons for moving to the United States



Note: Multiple responses were allowed.

Source: Statistics Canada, Survey of 1995 Graduates Who Moved to the United States, 1999.

Plans for the future

The vast majority (82%) of the Class of '95 who had moved to the United States between graduation in 1995 and summer 1997 were still living there as of March 1999. Of these, 85% were working and 10% were going to school. Over half (56%) continued to live there as temporary residents. About 800 people who had originally arrived in the United States as temporary residents had obtained permanent residence or "green card" status.

By March 1999, more than one-third (36%) of the graduates still living in the United States were non-citizen permanent residents. Many others (44%) planned to seek permanent residence there within the next two years. At the same time, about 43% of those who still lived in the U.S. in 1999 planned to return to Canada. In some cases, the same people expressed apparently contradictory intentions. These findings, however, might be expected of a highly skilled and mobile population who may be trying to keep their options open while retaining access to the United States labour market.



Jeff Frank, formerly a senior analyst with the Centre for Education Statistics at Statistics Canada, is now with the Policy Research Secretariat. **Éric Bélair**, formerly a research officer with the Applied Research Branch of Human Resources Development Canada, is now a project officer with Strategy and Co-ordination, Human Resources Development Canada.

in the natural and applied science occupations, those who moved to the United States earned a median \$47,400 while those who remained

in Canada earned a median of \$38,400, or 19% less. A gap of similar size existed between graduates in health occupations.



Religious marriages remain popular

Three-quarters

(76%) of marriage ceremonies in 1997 were conducted by a member of the clergy; the remainder were solemnized by civil officials such as judges, justices of the peace and clerks of the court. Ontario had the highest level of religious marriages, with nearly all marriage ceremonies (94%) conducted by clergy of various faiths. Religious ceremonies were also common throughout the Maritime provinces, ranging between 80% and 86%. In contrast, civil marriages were most popular in the Yukon (71%) and British Columbia (56%). Previous marital status influenced whether couples sought a religious marriage or not; 82% of weddings in which both spouses were marrying for the first time, were conducted by clergy, whereas this was the case in only 58% of marriages where both spouses had been previously divorced.

*Health Statistics Division
Marriages, 1997
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Statistics Canada Catalogue
84F0212-XPB*



Most women return to work after childbirth

Almost nine out of 10 (86%) working women who gave birth in 1993 or 1994 were back on the job within a year of giving birth. The average amount of time taken off work was a little more than six months, but one in five of these women (21%) were back to work by the end of the first month. Among the women who returned within the first month, 60% received no Employment Insurance benefits, compared with just 9% of women who returned later; and roughly one-third (34%) were self-employed, compared with just 2% of those who returned later. The 7% of women who had not returned to paid work within two years after childbirth were more likely to have left a non-unionized, non-professional, lower-paid job; in addition, they were more likely to be unmarried and younger than those who did return.

Perspectives on Labour and Income Vol. 11, No.3

*Employment after childbirth
Statistics Canada Catalogues
75-001-XPE; 75-001-XIE (available
from www.statcan.ca)*



Canadian youth literacy surpasses US, but behind Europe

In a study of youth literacy in Canada, the US and five European countries, Canadian youth aged 16 to 25 outscored Americans by the equivalent of about two years of schooling. However, a typical Canadian youth fared less well compared with their European counterpart. The study examined literacy skills in relation to the ability to effectively interpret prose text such as newspaper articles, documents such as transportation schedules and the mathematical information found in texts such as loan charts. The Canadians scored behind all of the European countries except Poland in numeracy skills; they scored about the same as youth from Germany and Switzerland on the prose and document tests, but were considerably behind those from Sweden and the Netherlands.

*Inequalities in literacy skills
among youth in Canada and the
United States
Culture, Tourism and the Centre for
Education Statistics
(613) 951-9037
Statistics Canada Catalogues
89-552-MPE, (No. 6); 89-552-MIE
(available at www.statcan.ca)*



Infants at greatest murder risk, most killed by parents

Set against a national homicide rate that was at its lowest point in 30 years, infants (children under the age of one) were the age group at the greatest risk of being murdered in 1998. The number of infants murdered in Canada nearly doubled from 13 in 1997 to 23 in 1998. Infants accounted for nearly half (43%) of the children under the age of 12 whose deaths were ruled as homicides. Parents were charged in more than three-quarters of the infant homicides (78%), compared

with less than two-thirds (62%) the year before. Only one child was killed by a stranger, another by a babysitter and in three other cases the assailants were unknown. Some of the increase in the reported rate of infant homicides may be due to more accurate reporting by police and legislated requirements for mandatory coroner inquests into the deaths of young children introduced in most provinces in recent years. It is believed that some infant killings in the past were mis-identified as accidental falls or "sudden infant deaths".

*Juristat, Vol. 19, No. 10
Statistics Canada Catalogues
85-002-XPE; 85-002-XIE (available at
www.statcan.ca)*



Importance of senior travellers will grow in the next century

As baby-boomers enter their golden years in the upcoming years, attention to the travel patterns of seniors will be of increasing importance to the travel and tourism industry. Canada has one of the fastest growing senior populations in the world; by the time the youngest baby-boomers turn 66 in 2031, the proportion of Canada's population aged 65 and over is projected to almost double, rising from 12% in 1998 to 22%. The growth in domestic and international travel by seniors over the last decade has outpaced that of most other age groups. And although the number of trips that seniors take declines with age, the trips that they do take tend to be longer. Senior travellers are most likely to travel in pairs, with the majority of travellers to all destinations accompanied by one companion. They are also more likely to be women — between 53% and 58%, depending on the destination. And almost nine in 10 travellers to all destinations (more than 86%), travel for pleasure or to visit friends or relatives. More than half (52%) of the travellers in Canada were visiting friends or relatives, whereas nearly two-thirds (62%) of pleasure trips were to foreign destinations.

*Travel-Log, Vol. 18, No. 4
Statistics Canada Catalogues 87-003-XPB; 87-003-XIB (available at
www.statcan.ca)*



Immigration decline slows population growth

In 1998-99 Canada's population grew by less than one percent (0.9%), according to population estimates. The growth in the size of Canada's population was at its lowest rate since 1971, and only half the rate of 1.8% recorded during the most recent peak year of 1988-89. The major factor cited for this slower growth was a decline in the number of immigrants coming to Canada (173,011); about 21,400 fewer newcomers were admitted to Canada in 1998-99 than in the previous year (194,451). Also, the rate of natural increase (the difference between the number of births and deaths) continued its steady decade-long decline. Nationwide, there were about 4,800 fewer births and 4,400 more deaths in 1998-99 than the previous year.

*Demography Division
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(613) 951-2320*



Causes of urban growth vary by region

In 1997-98, approximately 1.2 million individuals moved from one place in Canada to another. Of these, 300,000 changed provinces while 900,000 people moved between census divisions within their province. Inter-provincial migration was most important on the Prairies, accounting for 58% of all people who moved to Calgary and 50% of the inflow to Edmonton; in contrast, only about 16% of migrants to Toronto came from other provinces. International migration was greatest in the largest cities, accounting for about 56% of new arrivals to Toronto, 48% to Vancouver and 35% of those who moved to Montreal.

*Small Area and Administrative
Data Division
Client Services (613) 951-9720
CANSIM Matrix 6981*

SOCIAL INDICATORS

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
INCOME*									
<i>Average total money income</i>									
All	19,875	19,310	19,450	18,997	19,351	19,425	19,515	19,528	--
Families	58,942	57,537	57,222	56,045	57,095	56,997	57,544	57,146	--
Unattached individuals	26,262	24,918	25,273	24,823	25,036	24,931	24,828	25,005	--
<i>Percent of income from transfer payments</i>									
All	11.8	13.2	13.8	14.3	14.1	13.5	13.3	12.9	--
Families	10.6	11.9	12.5	12.9	12.5	12.1	11.7	11.3	--
Unattached individuals	17.7	19.7	20.0	20.9	21.7	20.2	20.8	20.5	--
<i>Average income of families, by quintiles</i>									
Lowest quintile	18,871	18,391	18,010	17,884	18,360	18,284	17,729	17,781	--
2nd	36,821	35,180	34,914	33,886	35,011	34,545	34,402	34,399	--
3rd	52,874	50,692	50,878	49,453	50,914	49,856	50,366	50,548	--
4th	70,881	68,861	68,923	67,630	68,710	68,319	69,292	69,059	--
Highest quintile	115,291	114,560	113,399	111,371	112,491	113,964	115,938	113,948	--
Dual-earner couples as % of husband-wife families	62.2	61.5	61.2	60.3	60.4	60.5	60.5	61.3	--
Women's earning as % of men's full-time full-year workers	67.7	69.9	71.9	72.2	69.8	73.1	73.4	72.5	--
<i>% of persons below Low Income</i>									
Cut-offs (LICOs)	15.4	16.5	17.0	18.0	17.1	17.8	17.9	17.5	--
Families with head aged 65 and over	7.6	8.2	8.7	9.7	7.1	7.8	8.7	6.8	--
Families with head less than age 65	13.1	13.8	14.4	15.5	14.6	15.4	15.5	15.3	--
Two-parent families with children	9.8	10.8	10.6	12.2	11.5	12.8	11.8	12.0	--
Lone-parent families	54.4	55.4	52.3	55.0	53.0	53.0	56.8	51.1	--
Unattached individuals aged 65 and over	50.7	50.9	49.2	51.9	47.6	45.1	47.9	45.0	--
Unattached individuals less than age 65	32.5	35.2	36.3	36.2	38.0	37.2	37.1	37.5	--
FAMILIES**									
<i>Marriages and divorces</i>									
Number of marriages ('000)	188	172	165	159	160	160	157	153	--
Marriage rate (per 1,000 population)	6.8	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.4	5.3	5.1	--
Number of divorces ('000)	78	77	79	78	79	78	72	67	--
Crude divorce rate (per 1,000 population)	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.2	--
FAMILY COMPOSITION**									
Total number of families ('000)	7,359	7,482	7,581	7,679	7,778	7,876	7,975	8,047	8,117
Husband-wife families (% of all families)	87.1	87.0	86.7	86.4	86.1	85.8	85.5	85.2	84.9
without children (% of all families)	34.6	35.1	35.1	35.0	35.0	34.9	34.9	34.8	34.7
with children (% of all families)	52.5	51.9	51.7	51.4	51.1	50.9	50.6	50.4	50.1
with children (% of husband-wife families)	60.2	59.7	59.6	59.5	60.2	60.2	59.2	59.1	60.2
all children under 18 (% of all families)	35.3	35.0	34.6	34.2	33.9	33.5	33.1	32.8	32.4
all children under 18 (% of husband-wife with children)	67.3	67.4	67.0	66.6	66.2	65.8	65.4	65.0	64.6
Male lone parents (% of all families)	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5
Female lone parents (% of all families)	10.6	10.7	11.0	11.2	11.5	11.8	12.1	12.3	12.6
female lone parents (% of lone parents)	82.4	82.4	82.6	82.7	82.8	83.0	83.1	83.2	83.3

* All income data in 1997 dollars; families are economic families.

** Family data from Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-213-XPB, *Annual Demographic Statistics*, 1998. Families are census families.

EDUCATORS' NOTEBOOK

Suggestions for using Canadian Social Trends in the classroom

Lesson plan for **"Traffic report: Weekday commuting patterns"**

Objectives

- 1 To discuss reasons for traffic congestion and explore the possible impact on the quality of life of Canadians.

Method

- 1 Take a quick poll of the class to find out how they got to school this morning (what mode of transportation, e.g., walk, bike, car driver, car passenger, school bus, public transit). How long did it take them to get to school? Why do some people travel long distances to school? How many experienced a traffic jam on the way to school?
- 2 Discuss why more people are driving cars now than in the past and why public transit use has not increased.
- 3 A "balanced" community is generally thought of as a self-contained, self-reliant one, within which people live, work, shop and pursue recreational activities. Is your community balanced? Discuss the repercussions of living in a community that is not balanced.
- 4 Survey students to determine if parents work in the neighborhood where they live or if they have to travel far to work. Discuss some of the reasons why traffic jams occur. How can traffic congestion be alleviated?
- 5 Discuss the pros and cons of living in a compact city. Does suburbanization contribute to traffic congestion?

Using other resources

- 1 For your next social studies project visit the Education Resources section of the Statistics Canada website at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits>. There are several teaching activities that can help you and your class further explore environmental issues, including automobile use and traffic congestion. In particular, the "Household Environment Survey - School Edition" (at <http://statcan.ca/english/kits/houenv.htm>) lets you compare your students' environmental practices with those of other Canadians and the "Enviro-Quiz" (at <http://www.statcan.ca/english/kits/envir1.htm>) introduces environmental data, including global warming trends.

Share your ideas!

Do you have lessons using **CST** that you would like to share with other educators? Share your ideas and we will send you lessons using **CST** received from other educators. For further information, contact Joel Yan, Education Resources Team, Dissemination Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa K1A 0T6, 1 800 465-1222; fax: (613) 951-4513 or Internet e-mail: yanjoel@statcan.ca.

Educators

You may photocopy "Educators' Notebook" and any item or article in *Canadian Social Trends* for use in your classroom.

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Canadians in the spotlight



Paying Off Student Loans

by Warren Clark

More than 1.5 million Canadians are currently repaying student loans. The average graduate owes \$10,000, and the total amount outstanding is over \$15 billion. This is a significant financial burden for many young Canadians, and it is one that is likely to increase as the cost of post-secondary education continues to rise. In this article, we will explore the challenges of repaying student loans and provide some tips for managing this debt.

For many graduates, repaying student loans is a top priority. They must balance their loan payments with other financial obligations, such as rent, food, and transportation. This can be a difficult task, especially for those who are just starting their careers and have limited income.

EB CANADIAN SOCIAL TRENDS

CS: What you should know about this study

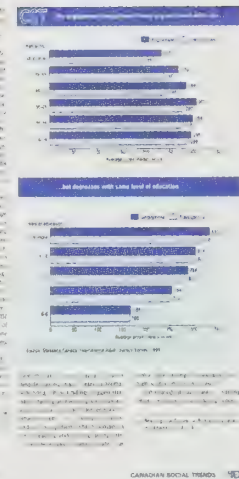
During the summer of 1997, Statistics Canada, in partnership with Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), interviewed nearly 4,000 people in the National Graduate Survey of 1995 (NGS). The sample represented over 200,000 Canadian residents who had graduated from post-secondary education and were in the workforce during 1995. The survey focused on the education, training and labour market needs of these graduates during the two years of education, training and graduation. Graduates were also asked about how they financed their education on the basis of any student loans.

The survey asked about how much graduates owed in government student loans, the program of graduation in 1995, and at the time of the interview in June 1997. Graduates were also asked about the amount they could do to repay their loans.

The results presented in this article are for all graduates, including those who have repaid their loans and for graduates of both the regular program and the accelerated program.

For many graduates, repaying student loans is a top priority. They must balance their loan payments with other financial obligations, such as rent, food, and transportation. This can be a difficult task, especially for those who are just starting their careers and have limited income.

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